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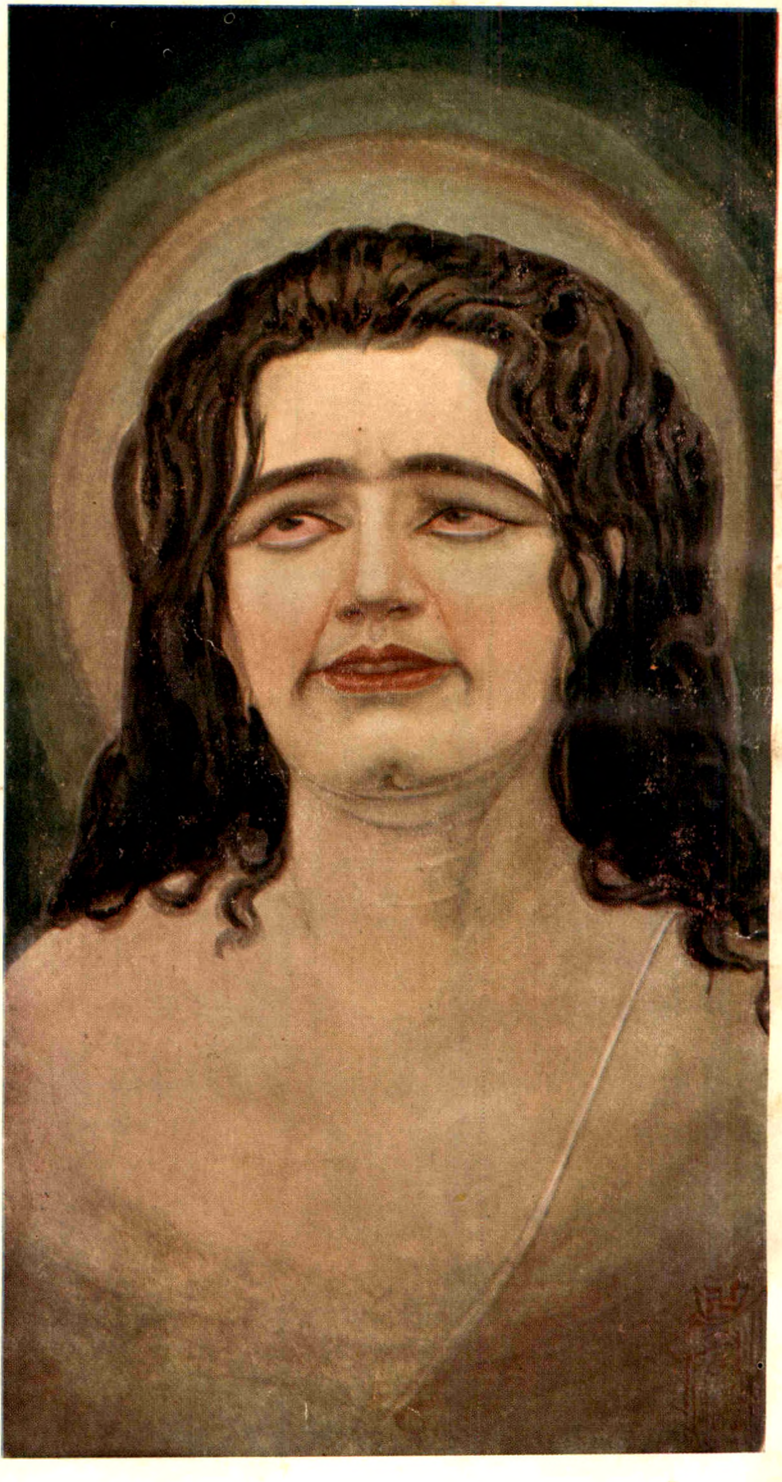

ŚRĪ CHAITANYA

By Mr. Promode Chatterjee

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW
OCTOBER, 1936

VICTOR JACQUEMONT ON RAM MOHAN RAY

Sir P. C. Ray

IN the *Calcutta Review* for July, 1935, Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi contributed an interesting article on Victor Jacquemont. This French naturalist was deputed by the authorities of the Natural History Museum to study the Geology and Fauna of India. Along with his researches he has left a valuable record of the peoples of India. He regularly kept a journal of his travels in India. In 1841 M. Guizot, Minister of Education, published this journal in four quarto volumes under the title " Voyage dans l'Inde." Exactly half a century ago, while a student at the University of Edinburgh, I wrote a small book on India in which I quoted here and there from this journal and about 47 years ago, on my return to India, I published a translation of V. Jacquemont's account of Ram Mohan Ray in the *Indian Messenger*. The following is a more accurate and literal rendering of the original and I make no apology for its reproduction. Unfortunately, a life so valuable was prematurely cut off in 1832 in Bombay while Jacquemont was only 31.

On arriving at Calcutta in 1829 Jacquemont availed himself of the earliest opportunity to make the acquaintance of Ram Mohan Ray and the graphic account he has left us of his interview is of surpassing interest.

Ram Mohan Ray is a Brahmin savant who, by his conversion to Christianity [more apparent than real] and his works on religious polemics against the Hindu Pundits and European missionaries has made his name known even in France. Before coming to India, I knew that he was a clever orientalist, a subtle logician and an irresistible dialectician but I did not know that as a man he stood in the foremost rank of all.

Mr. Calder, whom celibacy has endowed with an abundance of affection for humanity and who is actively engaged in all that is good, has arranged for me this morning the pleasure to meet his friend. He invited Mr. Ray and myself to his house on Sunday, the 21st of June, 1829.

Ram Mohan is a man of fifty, tall, thick—rather fat, with a medium complexion among the Bengalees—his face mediocre and his eyes smaller in comparison to his body and his nose bent slightly to the right. His moustaches were small, his thick and curly hairs were sufficiently long at the back. There is a force in his physiognomy indicating calmness, gravity and goodness. His dress was the simplest and differed slightly from the leisured natives in that he wore socks with European shoes instead of bare legs with Turkish slippers. Above all these he wore no jewels nor even the sacred Brahminic thread, unless it be that he carried this under his dress. Some of my compliments regarding his erudition acquired inspite of so many obstacles led him naturally to speak to me of the miserable state of things in his own country. The turn of his mind was completely metaphysical. The logic is also a weapon which he seemed always to wield because he did not like ever to leave it. He is a man who speaks, acts and lives always on the defensive. He was so often attacked that he did not give out any opinion without defending it from all sides. In fights this excess of prudence is useful but it is only irksome with friends as it renders the conversation rather heavy.

Ram Mohan Ray received all the education of a Brahmin but instead of restricting himself, as others generally do, to a smattering knowledge of Sanskrit and Hindu religious books, he perfected his knowledge with ardour and was not only a perfect Sanskritist but was well conversant with Persian and Arabic, he acquired an excellent philosophical knowledge of the Arabs and also what they borrowed from the Greeks.

From an early age he revolted against the horrible absurdities of Hindu culture and dared to protest against them. He wrote for the re-establishment of the doctrines of the ancient Vedas which had been corrupted and degenerated in the course of centuries by a host of abominable superstitions. While really attacking the religion of his country he pretended to defend it like the Catholic reformers of the 16th century who were called as the defenders of Christian faith.

He began to write numerous Bengalee pamphlets to explain the pure morals without any mixture of antique Vedas, and to lay bare the Hindu cults free from its absurd dogmas and crude superstitions with which it was overladen. The orthodox people replied very little with words but he had to suffer persecution from them. Ostracised from his caste, expelled from his family, even abandoned by his wife and his children in his youth, he was not beaten by the persecution. Having been convinced that in the actual state of corruption, the religious laws of the Hindus had defied all moral canons, and had opposed stubbornly all amelioration, he did not cease to attack them.

In the midst of all these fruitless struggle he acquired a perfect knowledge of the English language and of Hebrew, and read many books on Christianity. Guided, perhaps in his study, by a priest of this sect, he was drawn to the Presbyterian Church. He found nothing in the Vedas which is irreconcilable with Christianity and without openly renouncing Hinduism, without losing his caste and even without embracing formally any cult he soon passed for a Christian.

I do not know what security of faith it gave him. I believe he regularly practised the religious exercises of the Presbyterian Church and I have reasons to suppose that he frequented the Anglican Cathedrals. But the reason, which made him abandon the absurd belief of his co-religionists, soon induced him to give up the rites of this community full of absurd dogmas, and he appeared to follow the Presbyterian Church.

However, the extravagant sermons of a priest soon separated him even from the latter. Some anabaptist missionaries tried to win over this vacant soul but Ram Mohan Ray was not an ignorant, simple-minded man easily to be converted. He knew Christian theology as well as those who wished to be his masters. Endowed by nature with a religious sentiment but freed from all prejudices, he carefully read the Christian literature with a perfectly unbiased and critical mind. He found in the New Testament only the history of the life and opinion of a righteous man—a sage, a martyr in the cause of humanity, which he wanted to improve upon. The Evangelic morals appeared to Ram Mohan most saintly and most sublime and he came to be united with the sect, very improperly called Christians which, professing boldly and without reserve the unity of God, reveres Jesus only as the most saintly of men. Ram Mohan Ray, therefore, became a Unitarian when one tried to make him an Anabaptist. A religious polemic took place between him and the missionary who wished to convert him. There Ram Mohan showed such a superiority that the poor missionary—an honest man listening to nothing else but the new conviction carried to his soul—publicly embraced Unitarianism.

Ram Mohan is nothing more than a deist who consents to allow some divine sanction only to the evangelic morals. Long since lost to the Brahmins, who refused to take him back, he succeeded in bringing back his wife and children when their persecution slackened. But his first difference with the Christians and his pure and philosophical belief created many enemies for him. The laymen, who think very little of religion and who, I dare say, have no religion and are proud of their religious immobility as if there is some merit in not moving in death or sleep, took Ram Mohan to task for his frequent apostacies. And as devout people do not make any difference between an atheist and a deist, the laymen accused him to be a miserable person without any religion. His charitable soul was not affected by the wrongs done to him. Although from his youth he had ceased to visit the religious places of the Hindus, he submitted himself to many of the abstinences which their law demanded. Thus he did not eat beef nor did he drink wine, and if at all he took his seat at the table with the Europeans it was to remain there with crossed arms. These were the abominations which led them to accuse him of remaining attached to the Hindu fold. If this man was only a speculative philosopher without any ambition to become the head of the sect, then his high and straight reasons would not have made these concessions for the innocent yet absurd prejudices of the Hindus, which brought him so much reproach. But Ram Mohan was a thoroughly practical man. He was not an enthusiast animated by impracticable theories. What he wanted to do was quite possible ; however small be the possibility of good he always concentrated his actions within the limits of its usefulness. If he would have dined with the Christians, he would have lost his caste and would have been despised by all castes, and his voice and example would not have had any authority.

His father left him some fortune but he spent nearly all in charity, living always in the severest economy in order to have more to give. Ram Mohan surprised me by the justness and the extent of his ideas on the different states of Europe. He told me that when he was young, this Europe—the dominator of his country—appeared to him odious. The blind patriotism of his youth made him detest the English and all that came from them. Being aware of good of all kinds which followed the establishment of British power everywhere, he now thinks, it is beneficent to India. The national independence is not always good. The aim and object of a society is the good to the greatest number of its members. When left to itself a nation cannot march to its goal unless it contains in it the seeds of future improvements; it is good for a nation to be guided by the examples and even by the authority of its more enlightented conquering nation. The metaphysical mind of Ram Mohan Ray did not fail on this occasion to comment on the words "dependence and independence." " When we depend by the condition of our existence on all things and all beings of nature, is not this furious love of national independence a chimera ? When in a society the individual is incessantly compelled by his weakness to have recourse to the assistance of his neighbour mainly when the neighbour is stronger than himself, why then a nation would have the absurd pride in not depending on others ? Conquest is very rarely an evil when the conqueror is more civilised than the conquered ; because the conquest will always bring the good of civilisation. India requires a good number of years of English domination in order that she may not lose much in recovering her political independence." As a Hindu, whose high knowledge of European arts induces us to suppose sentiments similar to ours, speaking to an Englighman, the sincerity of his language may be doubted. But I do not doubt it. Myself being brought up in a country of similar sentiment of absolute liberty and even of national independence and being submitted from childhood to the influence and opinion of those with whom I was surrounded, this solitary reflection makes me realise his prejudices as more noble and generous than useful.

My Indian philosopher appeared to show more attention to the conversation when I spoke about what I have seen in U.S.A. We were speaking about the political aspects of England and France which naturally led the conversation to America. I gave him all the particulars of manners and customs of America as I have seen there and as these were quite contrary to those of the Asiatic communities, he was very much attracted by my conversation and highly admired it. He was interested and animated by the description ; and I confided to him that I experienced nearly the same sentiment. But as I was brought up in a society which looked upon refined pleasure as a necessity, I could not be satisfied by the American society and though I admire it, I cannot love it as I feel I would be there alone.

Ram Mohan knew this pain of isolation. He was brought up in the plane of ideas and sentiments superior to those of his countrymen. He lives alone. Although he ought to find a habitual pleasure in the consciousness of the good he does, yet there is in his grave appearance something sad and melancholy.

[Jacquemont, in the course of his description of the Asiatic Society, has some sarcastic remarks:]

Ram Mohan who undoubtedly is the most learned of the natives and the most respectable of the Brahmins and who has ceased to be an idolator in order to be a philosopher, was not a member of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta. It is not that he has refused to be a party of it but that it is the unitarian, the deist in him which by his presence will defile his neighbours.[1]

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[1] In rendering from the French original I have availed myself of the help of my colleague, Dr. P. B. Sarkar.

RESPONSIBILITY

Madame Ellen Hörup
Geneva

ALIENISTS from many lands have directed an appeal to the statesmen of the world. They draw attention to the fact that the present temper in which the world finds itself is a serious threat to the lives of the nations, as at any moment it can develop into war psychosis. They lay emphasis upon the difference which exists between the repugnance which the individual feels towards war and the willingness on the part of the masses, where the individual feels himself only a part of a whole.

They speak of the wild, destructive instincts of primitive man, which have not yet been overcome, of the speeches of statesmen, which show that their conception of war is not essentially different from that of the lower middle-classes, but considerably more dangerous. Likewise their catchwords about their "country which is in danger," "war of the supreme arbitrator," "war as the necessary consequence of Darwin's teaching," are nothing but an imposture. They are used for the purpose of awakening the primitive instincts for power and fighting, so that the peoples may be made eager for war. In this direction the speeches of statesmen, by virtue of the power of suggestion which they possess, constitute a tremendous danger.

Besides this, the alienists regard the "Institutions for the common interests of the nations" as sufficiently developed to enable the leaders, in union,—if they understood how to make use of them—to avoid war altogether.

As it has been shown that the statesmen have not understood this, the alienists draw attention to the fact that "their knowledge has now attained such dimensions that they are in a position to distinguish between real, pretended and unconscious motives—also in the case of statesmen."

The alienists, in other words, have come to the same conclusion as England's Prime-Minister, Mr. Baldwin: the world is a madhouse. The only difference is that the doctors mean that it is first and foremost Mr. Baldwin himself and his colleagues that should be placed under observation before the next world war.

Will there be a "next world war?" All glaciers of course do not turn into avalanches. No. One thing however is certain. If the war-machine breaks loose once more, it will come like an avalanche in the night, suddenly, unexpectedly, crushing everything, carrying everything away with it! That will happen in a trice. It will take place whilst we are sleeping.

Who will risk letting it loose, and so set the whole thing rolling? Who will dare to take the responsibility for the landslide which will engulf us all? Nobody.

Like the glacier, this will break loose of itself and become an avalanche. Like the single drop which causes the glass to overflow, the reason may be but a trifle, a matter of chance, just like that minute particle of air blown into a balloon which is on the point of bursting.

Is there nobody then who bears the responsibility? Yes, there is. They are the responsible ones, whose fault it is that the glass is again full to the brim, that the balloon is again inflated to the bursting point, that not one single item of all those things that caused the last war has been cleared out of the way to avoid the next one. They are the guilty ones—the statesmen of the Great Powers and the forces of Capital.

All after a few years of war-weariness have gone further along the same way, in the same groove, which can lead only in one direction and to one end—war. They have torn up the pact of the League of Nations just as Germany treated the famous scrap of paper about the neutrality of Belgium. They have, however, clung to the patchwork of vengeance and hatred which is called the Treaty of Versailles, and which ought to have been the first thing they tore to pieces when they had come to their senses again.

That which is causing the whole world to tremble with fear—that which, sooner or later, must come—that must be laid to their account.

They had a League of Nations which they could have used to alter the course. They did nothing of the kind. They regarded it as a stock-exchange, for they never represented anything else but that little clique which had annexed the machinery of state in their own country. No matter what government was in power, the capitalist machinery of state was always the same. Its interests were those of capital. Many of the members of the governments were themselves capitalists, others became capitalists looking after the interests of capital. All who represented such a state accustomed themselves to think only in numbers, speak only of dividends and act only for profit. Such were the men that sat in the League of Nations, and so it remained a stock-exchange.

Those people sat, of course, in a League of Nations whose task it was to open the way for common interests and to work for a common aim, but they felt themselves responsible only to their own home machinery of state. They sat there, not as members of a universal union of nations, nor did they feel themselves responsible to humanity.

Could the course have been altered? Could we have done anything to avoid the prospect of a threat of war in a world of comparative re-arming ?

That could have been possible, if the contrary of what should have been done, had not been done in every instance ; if the men who have held power in the world, had not been demoralized by their countries' policy of force throughout the centuries ; if they had not been made stupid by their own cunning, confused by their own unreliableness.

As soon as they become political leaders they lose the capacity for normal thinking. They can think only a simperialists, and thus they soon find themselves the victims of megalomania. Imperialism means that it is " we who shall rule, exploit and trample upon the others " because our culture, our language, and we ourselves are much more important than the others and all that is theirs."

Imperialism represents a policy of force and was the policy of all the Great Powers before the war. Nothing has changed since that time, although the political leaders have begun to juggle with collective security and indivisible peace. For this reason the struggle in the next war will be for the same object as in the last one. The origin of the last war will be the cause of the next ; by which judgment is pronounced upon the political leaders of the post-war period.

What could they then have done without undertaking a complete modification of the economic system, which they wished to avoid at all costs ?

After the Great War the leaders ought to have understood that the only thing that mattered, the only thing that the peoples of the world demanded, was security against a repetition of the calamity. If they had been in harmony with the peoples they represented, they ought to have been anxious for one single thing: peace. It is from this angle that they should have reviewed all questions. This is the goal towards which they ought to have directed all their efforts, all their policies. This would have carried them away from their imperialist power-politics into the path of the politics of right, as one thing is certain—no lasting peace can be built upon any other basis than right.

First of all they should have been in agreement regarding the peace terms which ought not inevitably to have led to the revolt of a great people against humiliation and injustice. In the next place they should have treated their minorities as well as their majorities and finally they should have taken up the question of the colonies as their most important task, for all talk of peace is idle as long as the white race continues its exploitation and its barbarous treatment of the coloured peoples.

They did none of these.

During the war they had bartered and bargained all over the world in order to procure help for the war. They had promised the colonies the concessions of the enemy, and large slices of his territory, to all who were willing to sell their assistance. They scattered promises about, they concluded agreements and arrangements knowing all the while that they had no idea of keeping them when once they had won the war. They behaved worse than cattle-dealers. They agreed upon the price, received the goods, and cheated when it came to paying, where they were strong enough.

Japan torpedoed German warships in the East, for a consideration,—the German concessions in China. Japan was a great military power and was not cheated. In this way she was further strengthened in her war of conquest against China. Italy, on the other hand, of whom nobody at that time was afraid, had to content herself with the southern part of Tyrol.

Everywhere it was a question of exploiting the military situation and laying hands on everything that could be got hold of. As soon as Turkey joined the Central Powers, England turned Egypt into a British protectorate, and whilst the English enticed the Mohammedans by holding out the prospect of a favourable peace for the Sultan, if the Allies won thev ictory, a secret agreement was concluded between

England and France as to the manner in which Turkey in Europe should be divided between them.

Next they continued a different policy with regard to the coloured races. They noticed that respect for the white peoples had sunk after it has been seen how this had blinded, burnt, mutilated and massacred one another ; and they were foolish enough to believe that they could restore their prestige by continuing the hardships of the war in the colonies, by crushing every manifestation of independence, every suspicion of opposition, with a brutality even greater than in the past.

India, which had received the promise of autonomy for the help she had rendered, got in its place the Rowlatt laws. The same thing took place in all the colonies.

In Tripoli, which the Italians had conquered in 1912, a veritable war of extermination was undertaken against the Arabs. This war reached its climax when General Graziani was made commander-in-chief. Empires have their blood-hounds which are sent wherever their services are at the moment most required.

Italy has General Graziani, who first demonstrated his usefulness in Tripoli, and later was sent to Abyssinia. In Tripoli the Italians hanged or shot 30 persons daily, whilst during the French revolution, for example, the average number executed was three. With the use of poison-gas they smoked the natives out of their mountains like foxes out of their holes. They drove them into the desert by closing their wells with cement, as Knud Holmboe relates in his book, " The Desert is on Fire." Why indeed should we doubt his veracity after having witnessed the war in Abyssinia ? There it was that Mussolini's son-in-law became a hero by dropping bombs over the military hospitals, while he himself sat safe in his aeroplane. In Addis Ababa they had no time to establish peace and order by shooting or hanging those who had remained behind. They mowed them down in groups with machine-guns whether they were plundering or not. There it is that General Graziani is now pacifying the natives, and is openly threatening to exterminate them all if they do not cease to defend their country.

In the French colonies matters were not different. Mme Andrée Viollis went to Indo-China, as a correspondent, with the Minister for the Colonies, Paul Reynaud. She was commissioned by the Minister to see those things which were not shown to him, and then to hand him a report. The material which she had in this way collected and delivered was not published till four years afterwards. Andrée Viollis awaited the effects of the report.

In 1933 five legionaries, of whom two were sergeants, were convicted of torturing and then murdering 11 Annamites who were innocent and declared innocent by the courts. These five legionaries were acquitted when they maintained that they had acted under the orders of the civil authorities. Then Andrée Viollis published her thrilling book on Indo-China: "S.O.S.," which is as crushing a verdict on French colonisation as Morel's book on that of Belgium in the Congo.

It is not necessary to take more than one example from "S.O.S." which, indeed, is common to all colonisation. In a poor district ravaged by drought and famine, one of the district superintendents is telling Andrée Viollis the history of the extended common graves which she sees among the rice-fields: "It was last year, when there suddenly came 5-6,000 of them, marching in close formation upon the town———"

"Were they armed ?" asked Andrée Viollis.

"I really do not know. They said that they were coming to complain about the taxes which were far too high. It is always in this way that the revolt begins. They got the order to halt, but they pushed forward and were not to be controlled. So aeroplanes with bombs had to be sent out. 100-120 persons in the crowd fell. The others fled like a flock of rabbits. Unfortunately, those who had not taken part in the manifestation, were taken for another band of demonstrators when they came to carry away their dead, and thus 15 more were killed. It was a very annoying mistake, and one which did not make a good impression."

Everywhere the same methods are employed. *Spectator* of the 3rd April, 1926, relates that during the fighting in Morrocco, the Franco-Spanish military authorities, at the same time as they let loose the massacre on the front, had the habit of causing bombs to be dropped by their airmen behind the lines on the old and the sick, on the women and the children.

In all the colonies people have clung fast to the paradox of the superiority of the white man as a race. The most famous Indian scientist, the greatest Chinese scholar, are regarded by the white rulers in the colonies in exactly the same way as Einstein in the Germany of Hitler.

In this manner their politics have led to Fascism and Nazism. They have stirred up the coloured races to revolt, secret and open. They have strengthened the idea of solidarity amongst the oppressed coloured peoples against all the white barbarians. They have created an atmosphere of insecurity and mistrust, leading as a result to general competitive re-arming directed against enemies both at home and abroad.

This is why the League of Nations has gone bankrupt. There cannot be any foundation for international right as long as it is those who take the liberty themselves of acting against all humanity and in defiance of all laws, that sit in judgment over others when they do the same.

The policies of the political leaders have driven the world nearer, and nearer to war,—in direct opposition to the will of the peoples, in direct opposition to common sense.

THE USHAGRAM SCHOOLS

BY H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D.,
Professor of English, Calcutta University.

BENGAL has probably assimilated western culture to a larger extent than any other province in India. Tribute has repeatedly been paid to the intellectual superiority of this province by eminent statesmen and philosophers everywhere. Indeed, until a few years ago Bengal was mostly pre-occupied with matters of cultural interest. The educated Bengalee was above soiling his hands with any kind of trade or manufacture. Consequently, nearly the entire volume of business passed into the hands of non-Bengalees. It was considered honourable to trust to the quill for an income. But jobs in offices grew scarce, and various factors united in taking the bread out of the mouths of those who had reason to think that the avenue of service would never be closed to them on account of their academic attainments. This and the general economic depression persuaded the educated elements in this country to rally in support of commerce and manufacture and reconsider the educational problems in a practical light. The purely literary education had been found to be an inadequate equipment for the struggle for existence, and many of those who now go abroad for further studies specialize in technological subjects with a view to organising new industries in this country. It must not, however, be assumed that the new activities in the field of business are going to replace scholarly pursuits. A nation can grow only when the individuals have many modes of self-expression—through Art, Literature, Science, Commerce, etc. Hence it is never wise to belittle culture for the sake of things which bring about material prosperity. In a just economy, culture and commerce will both be allowed to keep their places.

It is a hopeful sign of the times that now-a-days an increasing volume of business enterprises is being owned and managed by Bengalees. Emphasis is also being laid upon vocational training. The old idea that education is unrelated to the material concerns of life has been found untenable, and thoughtful men are trying to draw up a scheme of education where the theoretical and practical elements would blend in a satisfactory manner. The result has been a series of experiments of which one of the most outstanding is that made at Ushagram, an educational colony started some years ago near Asansol, the well-known industrial and mining centre situated at a distance of about 130 miles from Calcutta.

The founders of this colony have studied the special problems of this province, and have endeavoured to build up an institution where the Bengalee youth would enjoy every facility for the development of character and ability under the influence of a comprehensive training, where the ordinary University curricula are reinforced by an impressive array of subjects which include Printing, Weaving, Tailoring, Agriculture, Carpentry, Painting, Music, etc. There is no doubt that the students of this institution are taught to be practical and self-reliant, and when they accept any responsibility in the industrial line, they easily distinguish themselves by the knowledge and experience they bring to it. By the establishment of this colony and of sister institutions in different parts of Bengal, it will be possible for the country to fall into line with the progressive countries in the world in the field of trade and industry, and it may be hoped that in the near future Bengal will not lack her captains of industry, organising and managing business concerns with that tact and energy, still so rare in this province.

To pass from the high schools in towns, surrounded by dingy houses and standing on dusty, noisy, and only too often, narrow roads with ill-lighted, badly ventilated, and overcrowded class-rooms to the Ushagram schools where many classes are held in the open air, is a most agreeable and pleasant surprise. The settlement occupies a 52-acre plot of rolling upland with a good natural drainage. The place is dry, though somewhat bare. The Ushagram school authorities have been planting trees all around, and if this plan is not abandoned, there is little doubt that in the course of a few years the whole area will be surrounded by cool and shady trees.

One striking aspect of the educational colony at Ushagram is that children here are trained amidst the same surroundings and conditions as those in which they are born and bred. It is a well-known fact that there are some institutions, heavily subsidised by Government, where the major part of expenditure for education, food, accommodation, etc., is borne out of grants made from public funds. The result is that students of these institutions (it would not be graceful to mention their names), while paying comparatively little themselves, lead extremely comfortable, if not luxurious, lives. They lose all contact with their homes and acquire expensive habits and tastes which they cannot always hope to maintain. Many of them in later life are unable to earn enough either to live comfortable lives themselves or to bring up their children properly. Institutions of this type may be a blessing for the rich but are entirely unsuitable for the poorer sections of the community.

The Ushagram Schools were established for the benefit of the poorer people whose children need education as much as the children of the well-to-do. With this object in view, the authorities aim not only at giving them an all-round and efficient education at the lowest possible expense but also to educate them in the midst of simple and natural surroundings such as those to which the students themselves are accustomed at home. There is little, if any, risk of their being "thrown out of gear." The institution and its surroundings, however, leave nothing to be desired from the point of view of sanitation.

A very high official authority on education in this province has observed: "There is an astonishing lack of variety in the range of subjects taught in our schools......few have the wit to realise that what is done outside the usual school curriculum is of vital importance in the intellectual and moral development of the child." The authorities at Ushagram have shown a refreshing aptitude in seizing upon and emphasising this very important side of education. As such, the Ushagram Schools are an example and an inspiration to the province of Bengal. Instead of tying themselves down to the task of imparting book-knowledge, or, as in a few schools, making half-hearted attempts to introduce some vocational training, the authorities of this institution have made experiment after experiment to discover which of the handicrafts would suit local conditions and meet local requirements best. Some of these experiments were bound to be unsuccessful, but as the result of untiring efforts extending over many years, a satisfactory programme for vocational training has at last been achieved. But even now, the Director is not satisfied ; he would like to go on making fresh experiments at introducing new scientific and technical subjects. But he is handicapped by want of funds to promote his objects.

A vocational education to supplement the literary is not, however, all that the authorities aim at. They are trying to do much more than this. Instead of being content with a model school which trains students in the University courses and in some industrial arts, which I consider sufficiently exacting work, they have set themselves the task of training future householders and responsible citizens. I found arrangements for teaching domestic economy to boys and girls, emphasizing a healthy and balanced diet. They are taught by means of systematic health talks what to eat and what to avoid as well as the method by which healthy food may be secured at a minimum cost.

The Co-operative Bank which the students run themselves implants in them habits of thrift while facilities for encouraging and developing business talents are afforded by the Co-operative Store which is placed in charge of batches of students by turns.

The Store stocks nearly all the things required in Indian homes. They are bought wholesale in Calcutta and other big markets and retailed at a small profit. It is kept open in the morning from 8-30 to 9-30 A.M. and in the afternoon from 4 to 5-30 P.M. The directors who manage the Store hold office by rotation for three months. They are assisted by two boys who are allowed to draw Rs. 5 per month from the funds of the Store for the work they do. About Rs. 4,000 worth of stores are sold every year. The profits after deducting all establishment expenses amount to about Rs. 125 per year. The store is centrally situated and is patronised not only by the inmates of Ushagram but also by outsiders. It was a pleasure for me to see how busy the boys were, supplying the needs of the customers, weighing things, calculating their price which is no easy task as only very small quantities are taken at a time, the director in charge entering each sale in the account book and issuing a receipt for the money paid. I have little doubt that some of the boys working here will afterwards develop into skilful organisers and managers of general stores.

The supply of text-books, note-books of various kinds, stationery, etc., was quite a problem with the two schools having a numerical strength of about 635 in the classes. Formerly these things had to be brought from Calcutta by postal parcels or procured from shops at Asansol; both had the effect of increasing the cost to an appreciable extent. With the opening of the Co-operative Book-shop, this difficulty hasd isappeared.

At the beginning of each session, the Society brings all text-books direct from Calcutta and thus obtains them at wholesale rates. These are retailed to the students at a small profit but even then it is cheaper than buying them from shops at Asansol. The Co-operative Book Store is now printing Ushagram Exercise Books for drawing maps etc. These are in constant demand.

The Credit Society does all the work of an ordinary bank. It receives money both in current account and as fixed deposit paying interest on both at varying rates. Short-term loans are advanced. Members are allowed to borrow up to ten times their share capital. Most of the Ushagram boys and girls have Savings Bank accounts with the Society. In 1935 the total amount deposited was Rs. 938 while Rs. 1,177 was lent to members, the loans being used for productive purposes only. This institut ion has greatly stimulated habits of thrift among boys and girls.

According to the rules, 17 per cent. of the profits are ear-marked for community service and social activities. A reserve fund is also being built up in order to secure the financial position of the society. An examination of the share register revealed the very interesting fact that out of a total of 854 shares, 302 or about 35·5% of the shares are held by Ushagram boys and girls, and 377 or about 44·1% by the staff, only 175 or about 20·4% of shares being held by outsiders. In other words, the students and the staff are holding 79·6% while outsiders are holding 20·4% only of the shares. These very interesting figures conclusively prove that the Co-operative Society has grown into an integral part of Ushagram life and that it has come to stay I most sincerely hope that the fine example set by this institution will be followed far and wide in Bengal to the ultimate benefit of its citizenship.

Corporate life among the boys and girls is developed by team games, group singing, and other recreational activities as well as by an intelligent interest in all activities of the institution which are reported in the " Ushagram Magazine " printed and published by the students under the guidance of an expert.

The choice of the site of this educational colony situated within a couple of miles from Asansol has been a very happy one. Asansol is an important industrial centre, surrounded by a large agricultural area and population. The coal mines scattered in the neighbourhood, the many electrical, mechanical, and railway workshops, the iron and steel factories, all present opportunities for various kinds of work, very rarely to be found together in one and the same place in India.

One great advantage of having the schools here is that boys possessing a mechanical turn can join one or other of the workshops.

We may now proceed to give an account of the theoretical and practical training in agriculture offered by this model institution. We have in Bengal about a score of High Schools which have small gardens attached to them. Here training in agriculture is imparted by amateurs who received a somewhat perfunctory training in the agricultural school maintained by Government in Dacca. I have in my possession confidential information that the teaching in our High Schools, so far as agriculture is concerned, is not at all satisfactory, not being as thorough or practical as can be desired. The training imparted is for all practical purposes so much "eye-wash." The Ushagram Agriculture Department is in charge of an expert who, with the help of the boys, manages a 15-acre farm. There are separate plots for boys in addition to which all boys assist in the general field work of the school farm. Instruction is both theoretical and practical. There are many small rice and sugarcane fields where these crops are grown from the best selected seeds and cuttings obtained from the Government Department of Agriculture. The larger part of the area under cultivation is devoted to raising vegetables. The school farm supplies a large part of the vegetables needed at Ushagram during certain months in the year. Still to claim that Ushagram trains its boys in such a way as to make them practical agriculturists would not convey a correct idea about the kind of work done here in this particular subject. The training in agriculture at this institution is, however, so sound and systematic that students with a real aptitude can always benefit by it and face agricultural problems in the practical field with an equipment that will stand them in good stead. In this respect they are far ahead of their fellows at the "agriculturised" High Schools to which reference has already been made. Even the ordinary run of students who profit by this training learn how to grow part of their food in the form of vegetables, fruits, etc., in their own homes. Further, they can, if they have the taste, beautify their surroundings by growing flowers. If funds are available, I think it would be feasible to encourage the development of the agriculture classes in such a way as to turn out practical agriculturists. For this purpose, more land, bullocks, implements, etc., are required. I feel I am justified in stating that the best possible use is being made at present of the facilities available and no one can do more than that.

Those familiar with Indian village life are aware that among cottage industries, the simple handloom occupies a unique position. The ordinary agriculturist, whether landless or not, is not employed continuously. Where there is one crop, as in the greater part of Bengal, its cultivation, that is, the cultivation of the autumn variety of rice, keeps the agriculturists busy for about four to five months in the year. They have practically nothing to do for the rest of the year. The result is that they suffer very great hardship. Before the introduction of machine-made and, therefore, cheap cotton goods, large numbers of these people utilised this spare time in weaving various kinds of coarse cotton cloth in everyday use by the poorer classes. If they could do nothing else, they could at least meet their own requirements. In those days both spinning and weaving were done by them. It is quite true that the output, specially in spinning, was small but as there was nothing else to do, this was not regarded as a drawback or hardship. All this has been changed. The ordinary cultivator has not been able to increase his earnings. There are no openings in sufficient numbers for employing the unskilled labour available and, further, there is a total absence of that spirit of adventure which in other countries brings about migration of labour. The result is that the agriculturist after working for the period during which his presence is required on his land for the rice-crop, sits down to enjoy not rest, but to face starvation or, at best, semi-starvation.

It was this that led Gandhi to insist on a return to the spinning wheel and the handloom in this country. If his advice had been followed, it would have done away with the forced idleness of thousands who now go without employment. Unfortunately, however, spinning without the help of machinery is so monotonous and the output is generally so poor in both quantity and quality that his advice is not regarded as very useful nor, in the opinion of the writer, is it likely that it would make that wide appeal which Gandhi expected from it. It is deplorable that this move toward reviving an old cottage industry should have been used as part of an economic campaign against the British Government and as a means to force its hands by the boycott of British-made cotton goods.

Now that the heat of the conflict is abated, it is praiseworthy that under the guidance of the real friends of this country, who are level-headed enough to appreciate its economic advantages, home

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weaving is gradually coming into its own, and is beginning to occupy its legitimate position in a rational scheme of domestic economy. At Ushagram, the authorities have realised that spinning cotton thread by hand on an extensive scale is not a sound economic proposition and that it is more advantageous to buy the various kinds of machine-made thread required for weaving.

The idea behind this is that students whose taste lies this way should, after returning home, take to weaving and along with it, if they have the necessary initiative, the making of clothes for their own groups as their life-work. For those who are really desirous of following this plan, there is a detailed course which will enable them to learn all the different processes on three different types of looms. Even if nothing else is gained, the clothing needed for home use can easily be made at the expense of buying the thread only. Girls who finish the detailed course referred to above, may obtain work as weaving mistresses in the lower-grade schools for girls in different parts of Bengal. They can also take to it as a cottage industry in their own homes, thus utilising their spare time profitably.

There are two shops, one for boys and the other for girls. Here weaving on various types of looms, from the so-called " Naga " loom consisting of three pieces of bamboo to the latest pattern of the improved pit loom, is carried on under the supervision of trained teachers. The teacher in charge of the boys' department was trained at the Government Weaving School at Serampore while the woman teacher in charge of the girls' department is a former student who has learnt her work thoroughly. Dhotees, sarees, towels, bags, tapes, table cloths, curtains, coatings, shirtings, etc., are manufactured for sale. Some spinning and dyeing are also done.

By teaching the students the use of improved handlooms, the authorities are rendering a great service to our people—for this is the way to increase production at a small expenditure of time and labour and this too is the way in which this type of cottage industry will be able to hold its own against large-scale production.

With the development of the Weaving Department, a rather active and well-managed Tailoring Department has gradually come into existence. This department gives preference to the goods manufactured in the Weaving Department at Ushagram but labours under no prejudice against the stuff sold in the market. The tailoring course comprises the cutting, sewing, and fitting of garments in daily use in ordinary households. The authorities are looking forward to the time when their pupils will be employers of hired labour, and will not only weave the cloth but will also produce all kinds of wearing apparel for the market.

The Printing Department is the latest addition to the vocational subjects taught at the Village of the New Day. This department is equipped on an unpretentious scale for doing printing and binding of the ordinary type. Here several boys are being trained under the supervision of a properly qualified teacher in the "setting up" and printing of handbills, small circulars, receipt books, circular letters, letter heads, advertisements, etc., in English and Bengali. Orders for outside work are received from time to time so that this particular department has practically become self-supporting. The boys work the printing press, make rollers, and do the easier kinds of book-binding.

The bi-monthly magazine "Ushagram" printed at this press, gives readers both in and outside India some idea of the work done at this institution as well as information about the various experiments in educational work carried on here.

The plant, however, is rather small and so printing work can be done on a humble scale only. I believe that some money can easily be earned if this department is extended by the addition of a larger printing press, more types, and other equipment.

For some time past the manufacture of soap has been introduced as a new subject. The processes of manufacture as well as the proper use of materials ordinarily used in manufacturing soaps sold in the market are taught to the students. No attempt is made, however, to compete with the general market because the Ushagram soaps cannot be sold at the same price as the common varieties of soap which are often adulterated. Naturally the cost of the training is increased, but it is only in this way that the boys can appreciate the practical difficulties if they make up their minds to place a pure soap on the market.

Every cottage in the village is supplied with a simple, inexpensive. and yet very efficient septic tank arrangement for the disposal of the sewage. Many of the boys have been taught how to set up these septic tanks. An illustrated booklet, giving directions for installing them, has been published and commands a ready sale in the locality. The adoption of improved methods in the disposal of sewage is introducing a steady improvement in the health of homes and communities. Even if nothing else is done, the students when they return home after completion of their studies, will carry away with them a knowledge of those general principles which effectively shut out the invasion of various disease germs.

Formerly all the water required in the village was supplied by water-carriers who on an average gave twenty gallons a day to each household. About six years ago the Water Works System was installed. A second-hand boiler with a capacity of a little over three thousands gallons was placed on two supports just over the engine-house and the well. A 1½ horse power engine and a pump, both of which are looked after by one of the boys, lift the water which is stored in the makeshift reservoir. More than four thousand feet of pipes have been laid, and water is always available in every cottage in the settlement. A small monthly water-tax is levied on each adult. My information is that the cost per day of supplying water to about 200 residents including the staff and the boarders and 250 day scholars is not more than a rupee. The problem of an adequate supply of wholesome water is one which has to be faced in practically every village in this province. Ushagram has demonstrated how this can be done at the expense of a little trouble and through a spirit of mutual help and co-operation.

The care of the kerosine oil engine, and the force and the lift pump, the making of the septic tanks, the building and the repairing of the mud-houses, the laying of pipes and other allied work, provide training in simple mechanical operations which will no doubt prove valuable to those who intend later on to become mechanics, workmen in factories, etc.

In the Carpentry Department the boys are trained in the use of tools. The course is so contrived that after finishing it, the pupils become familiar with all the important processes. It fits them for securing work as pattern-makers, master carpenters, or as general village carpenters. The equipments are limited, nevertheless good training is being given. All the wood-work of the village is done by this department. Orders for doors, windows, tables, chairs, ply-wood suit-cases, hand-boxes, etc., are promptly executed by them to the entire satisfaction of the patronising public.

Side by side with purely vocational courses, Ushagram has arrangements for teaching drawing, painting, and music. These subjects can be studied both by boys and girls. There are two large halls where batches of students gather in succession for their lessons in these subjects. The teacher is an ex- Santiniketan man, a convert to Christinity in whom Tagore had great confidence.

On the practical side students are learning how to beautify their homes by painting attractive designs in cheap bazar colours on the walls and on burnt-clay jars. Instruction in sketching, blackboad-drawing, clay-modelling, sign-painting in wood and linoleum, block-making and in other allied forms of commercial art is also given, but only to those students who show a special aptitude for this kind of work.

Co-education at the Ushagram Schools does not imply that boys and girls are taught together all through their school career in the same class room, or that they are permitted to mix freely both in and outside the classes. As a matter of fact, class-room work is co-educational only up to the third standard after which boys and girls are taught separately, there being different sets of teachers for boys and girls. The subjects taught to boys and girls are not identical. The authorities realise that for girls the centre of interest lies in the home. For this reason the girls, in addition to their ordinary curriculum, are taught nursing, sewing, cooking, painting and music. After the third standard, they join the boys in congregational worship, Sunday School classes, Group meetings, etc.

The special course in Domestic Science for girls takes two years to complete, after which they have to sit for an examination on passing which they get the S. L. C. The aim of the course is to fit them to be better makers of homes and also to be qualified to teach food, clothing, hygiene and related subjects in secondary schools. Girls can take up the course after getting through Class VI. All students are required to know the following subjects well:—Theory of foods, cooking, physiology, personal hygiene, care of children, home decoration and weaving. In addition, they must secure three first class sewing cerificates and be first class Girl Guides. Each student has to spend three months in charge of the planning of menus, buying the food, and cooking and serving meals to a household of ten girls. Training has also to be taken at the Ushagram Health and Baby Welfare Centre. The girls receive instruction in first aid, home nursing, the care of infants, etc. They have to visit the surrounding villages which have welfare centres in the company of a trained welfare-worker.

In the Girls' High School the students are trained for the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University. Classes are held in a brick building which stands at some distance from the Boys' School. There is a company of Girl Guides and a flock of Blue Birds. As in the case of boys, in addition to the ordinary school curriculum, each girl has to learn cooking, sewing, weaving, drawing, and music. They are also given the option of learning instrumental music while painting may be taken up if the student shows special aptitude for it. Besides the regular Matriculation course, there is a special course for those who after getting through Class VI desire to specialise in home-making. To this reference has already been made.

Girls live in cottages, eight girls and a teacher in each cottage. Small girls below 8 live in separate cottages under the supervision of a matron. Girl students have to buy supplies, do cooking, and clean up the cottages and the surrounding areas. A certain amount of gardening work is also expected from them.

The boys' high school is housed in a brick building, surrounded by a ring of shady trees under which, weather permitting, classes are held. This school has the permission of the Calcutta University to send up its students for the Matriculation Examination. There is a troop of Boy Scouts and a pack of Wolf Cubs. All the major team games are played in their proper season. Every student has to undergo a free medical examination once a year. On the cultural side there is a Debating Club and a Literary Society. Students have also their share in publishing a school magazine.

Besides the subjects which have to be studied in accordance with the curriculum laid down by the University, every boy has to undergo training in one out of a number of vocational subjects. A different subject may be taken each year until the boy reaches Class VIII. From then up to the Matriculation class he is not allowed to change any of his subjects. The following is a list of these vocational subjects:—Tailoring, Carpentry, Painting, Book-binding, Soap-making, Sanitation, Agriculture, Music and Weaving.

For accommodating the boarders of the boys' school, the authorities have set apart a number of mud-houses which are built to form a village. Each cottage which accommodates four to six boys has its own compound and garden which the students themselves look after. Some teachers also live at this village. Discipline is maintained by a body of representatives elected by the boys. All the boarders have to do at least one hour's manual work daily. They also unite in the general clean-up of the village once a week.

One need which I noticed but to which the authorities seem reconciled is the absence of a small electric power plant. I lay stress on this not so much because it would add to the comforts of life but because electric engineering is taking such rapid strides in India and the use of electricity is growing so popular in every large town and city that it is time that some arrangements were made at this model institution to teach the students the rudiments of electric engineering. If this is done, the boys would enjoy special facilities for obtaining some preliminary training which would enable them to become apprentices in large electrical establishments, workshops, factories, etc. After completing their training in such places, they would be able to find employment in the new openings in this line. It is time that some one with the necessary means thought of supplying this requirement at Ushagram.

Before concluding this part of my appreciation of the Ushagram efforts at village uplift and social service, I ought to mention the fact that I know of two other High English Schools both situated in crowded parts of Calcutta, where moulding and casting, metal work, electrical work, etc., are taught. The training given in the crowded workshops of these schools has already produced very satisfactory results. Some of the students who took special interest in this training, acted as probationers in workshops and factories after passing the Matriculation Examination and are now doing quite well economically, in fact, much better than those of their class-mates who went in for the University curriculum. I am therefore, looking forward to the time when Ushagram will be in a position to give a still more practical bias to its curriculum, increasing its usefulness as an educational centre to which parents will send their children when they find that the latter have an inherent bias for either an agricultural or an industrial line. There is little, if any, doubt that many of our boys are really inclined in favour of such work. The unfortunate thing is that there are not, up to now, even half a dozen institutions among the High English Schools where there are facilities for obtaining both general education and the kind of training to which I have referred above.

Both parents and ambitious boys are aware that in order to get on in life something more than a mere training in industrial and agricultural operations is necessary. It is admitted that this would provide a means of earning one's livelihood, and to this extent it is welcome. The ambitious youth knows, however, that to be successful, one must not be a soldier but a captain of industry, and for the latter education is an absolute necessity. The young man who wants to get on, is not, therefore, content with joining a technical school (we have about 30 of them scattered over the length and breadth of the province) where he cannot expect to be trained as anything more than a mere workman, just able to earn enough to lead a humble, if contented, life. He wants to get into a school where he will obtain the kind of education which will enable him to mix with others, to take an intelligent interest in public life, etc., and on top of that, to familiarise himself at first hand with industrial operations.

In the lower schools, the boy of average intelligence learns to read and write the vernacular, he learns arithmetic, and the history and geography of his country. On top of this Ushagram specializes by offering him facilities for really efficient agricultural and industrial training. This differentiates Ushagram from the ordinary lower school. In the High School stage meant for boys of a higher intellectual calibre, the same practical facilities are offered with the difference that education both in the vernacular and in English is placed at their disposal. It is this which differentiates Ushagram from both the ordinary High School and the ordinary technical and industrial school. It has succeeded in combining the good elements in these two types of educational institutions and, as such, deserves public support and sympathy.

It is, however, my duty to point out that Ushagram is now on the verge of what I consider a disaster. Scarcity of financial help from the United States has compelled the authorities to try to increase their income in ways to which they would not have otherwise resorted. Thus to increase their revenues, they are admitting large numbers of day scholars, from the neighbouring town of Asansol. The fees paid by these day scholars is helping to meet the current expenses of the institution. In December, 1935, in the Boys' branch, out of a total of 415 boys, only 42 were boarders, similarly among the girls 61 out of 220 were boarders. My honest conviction is that the Ushagram type of training can only be given to and assimilated by boarders. If this practice of admitting day scholars whose bias towards an agricultural or industrial life is doubtful is accentuated, this institution will sooner or later degenerate into a factory for turning out matriculates of the Calcutta University. What a tragedy this would be can be appreciated only by those who have had an opportunity of knowing intimately the work done in the majority of our High Schools. It would be better to close down the Ushagram Schools before this happened. The failure of this experiment would be a loss and a great loss indeed. Others who might have thought of imitating the Ushagram experiment would be discouraged. On the other hand if the settlement were closed down in time, it would continue to be an example and an inspiration and its influence, even after it has ceased to be, will continue to work imperceptibly and widely. The ideal which is giving it life and vigour to-day will persist and be born again, perhaps, in stronger and more powerful forms. Ushagram dead will exert a wider and a more beneficial influence and do more good to Bengal than Ushagram alive and turned into the ordinary type of school.

INDIAN FEDERATION

— A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW

SIR A. P. PATRO, K.C.I.E.

INDIAN Federation is an unprecedented and a novel scheme. There are no parallels in history. It is not possible for me to deal with the complicated measure in a single article as an isolated scheme of constitutional development in India ; it forms an essential and organic part of Part III of the Constitution Act, what is known as Provincial Autonomy and the Indian States consisting of 600 units which are not of British territory, with a population of about 79 millions and which are independent and semi-sovereign States. It is a general principle there could be no federation without the autonomous units agreeing to an arrangement by which the individual states agree to sacrifice or surrender some portion of their sovereignty for the common good of the whole under a central organisation. There is therefore the necessity for a British Indian Federation in order to reach an all-India Federation with the States. We could within the space take only a bird's-eye view of Indian Federation as defined in the Indian Constitution Act. I stated before that federation results from an agreement among independent and autonomous governments. Does this state of matter apply to the Provinces of India ? In order that the Provinces may be able to approach the federal conception, they should be raised from the position of delegated authority and of deputies of Government of India into self-governing units. This change is sought to be effected in creating provincial autonomy. How far the Provinces emerged from the subordinate position into real autonomous entities is another matter requiring thorough investigation. The transition from their position under Government of India Act of 1919, to the Constitutional condition described in Part III of the Act of 1935, from the diarchy's dependant position to the direct relationship with the Crown, is an instructive chapter in history. Under the present system, the Provinces are only so many administrative units exercising a certain amount of power delegated to them. The Devolution Rules define the limits of the control, superintendence and direction of the Central Government

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over the Provinces. The Central Government is held subordinate to the Secretary of State in Council whose responsibility to the Crown and Parliament form the foundation of the present system. From this position the new scheme evolved places Provincial government and the Government of India directly under the Crown. The Indian States were only connected with the Crown and the Governor-General in Council. Their relationship is the consequence of Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads. The States from the beginning demanded they would be unable to enter into federation with a Central Government where there is no responsibility and much less with the Provinces which are subordinate and secondary states. It was anomalous, they said, that the Government should be subordinate to the Secretary of State while being responsible to the Legislature, the essential condition precedent therefore was to declare the freedom of Government of India and the Provinces from the control of the Secretary of State. It is therefore that Sections 2, 3 and 7 visualise a position which was then occupied by the Secretary of State under the Act of 1919 and the functions and position of the Secretary of State were relegated to Part XI of the new Act. The Governor-General and Provincial Governors act for His Majesty and so long they are in agreement with the Council of Ministers, there is no room for the interference of the Secretary of State, but in matters of his own individual discretion and individual judgment in the case of the Governor acting in his discretion despite the advice of his ministers, he is subject to the control of the Governor-General. " Subject to the Provisions of this Act, the Executive Authority of the Federation shall be exercised on behalf of His Majesty by the Governor-General, either directly or through officers subordinate to him, but there is nothing in this section which shall prevent the Federal Legislature from conferring functions upon subordinate authorities or be deemed to transfer to the Governor-General any functions conferred by any existing existing Indian Law." There is a Council of Ministers not exceeding ten in number to aid and advise the Governor-General in the exercise of his functions except in so far as he is by or under the Act required to exercise his functions or any of them in his discretion. These Ministers shall be chosen and summoned by him and shall hold office during his pleasure. They are therefore no longer his colleagues appointed by His Majesty and to hold office during His Majesty's pleasure.

" His Majesty by proclamation may declare there shall be united in a federation under the Crown by the name of the Federation of India (*a*) the Provinces, and (*b*) Indian States which have acceded or may thereafter accede to the federation. "The conditions being the Rulers of States are entitled to choose as laid down fifty-two members of the Council of State and the aggregate population of States amounts to at least one half of the total population of the States which have acceded to the Federation. Out of about 79 millions of population a State like Hyderabad has 14½ millions and Indore has 13,000. These have been grouped into 17 divisions in the act for purposes of representatives to the Council of State. The accession of an Indian State implies that subject to the terms of the instrument and for purposes only of the Federation, he is subject in relation to his State to such functions as may be vested in the Governor-General or under the Act and the obligation due effect is given within his State to the provisions of the Act so far they as are applicable by virtue of his instrument of accession." The Government of India Act, for the first time in the history of India, brings about the great principle of Indian unity for the purpose of common concern under a single government. Governments in India draw their authority direct from the Crown just as the Dominion Governments do ; they cease to be agents.

It must be clear now that Provincial autonomy does not imply the disintegration of Provinces based on linguistic and ethnic considerations. It implies that the constitutional and administrative relations between the Central Government and the Provinces are revised and readjusted. It is a new and complicated process to arrange the units to come together. It may not be federation strictly so-called as in other cases but in India the sphere of legislative and administrative activity of either is defined in the seventh schedule with list of subjects. It should be noticed that it is optional with the Indian States to enter into Federation ; there is no obligation imposed on them unless they consent to surrender some powers and agree to the jurisdiction of Federal Executive and Federal Legislature. On the other hand, the autonomous British Provinces are, the whole of British India is regarded as one unit and are obliged to enter into Federation. There is no choice or discretion left to the Provinces. While the States could reserve to what extent they would join in the Federation by their instruments of accession, British India Federation would come into existence as soon as Part III of the Act, Provincial autonomy, comes into being. The British Indian Provinces cannot refuse to enter into the Federation. From the instruments of accession the jurisdiction and powers of Federal Government would vary in different States. The terms and conditions will depend upon the instrument of accession. The Ruler has the option of accepting any few or more or all the subjects in the Federation list and those terms will govern his relation to the Federation. Once a State enters into Federation it will not be entitled to repudiate while a State remaining outside the Federation may seek to enter it. The Ruler or the State is entitled to nominate the delegates whom the Ruler or the State selects to represent his or her interests in the Federal Legislature while British Indian Provinces must elect their representatives by an indirect method to the Federal Assembly and by direct representation for the Council of State. The States made it quite clear that as sovereign States they could not be advised by outside agency to adopt a method of election of delegates. They were conscious of the principle but in practice it should be left to their individual judgment.

The nominees of the Indian States would have equal legislative powers with the members representing British India in all matters relating to British India in the Federal Legislatures, while British Indian members cannot have the same power except in regard to matters and to the extent conceded by the Ruler of the State. The internal administration of a State is wholly outside the jurisdiction of Federal Executive or Legislatures. The composition of Federal Legislatures will be of two houses. The Council of State shall consist of 156 representatives of British India and not more than 104 representatives of Indian States, and the Federal Assembly shall consist of two hundred and fifty representatives of British India and not more than one hundred and twenty-five representatives of Indian States.

There is a matter of considerable importance for the successful and smooth working of the Federation, namely, formation of parties on political principles. There is a probability that British Indian elected members may form party systems on political and economic principles and are bound to do so in the course of political development, while the delegates of Rulers can have no such tendency or dividing line. They are bound by the policies laid down for their guidance by the Ruler or the State. The inevitable result of the composition and the concept of Indian Federation is that the balance of power between the British Indian elected members and the Government is held by the delegates of the States. These nominees would necessarily control all differences which may arise in the Federal Assemblies. One wonders now whether this is the responsibility which the Indian States pleaded for, as a condition precedent to the formation of Federation. This is open to discussion. British Indian leaders are very critical of this aspect of the problem. Nevertheless, who could say the princes would not be as patriotic and nationalistic as the British Indian representatives. A section of British Indian delegates to R. F. C. did accept the position There can be no responsibility at the centre unless and until Federation is established. Is it worth paying the price for the shadow of a power, is the question asked by a section of public opinion in India. The inevitable answer is co-operate, work and gain experience ; that will give the effective remedy.

Let us for a moment turn to the picture of Provincial autonomy compared with the present. In Legislative matters, the Governor's assent in His Majesty's name is complete for a Bill to become Law. The Governor-General's assent is no longer required. The Indian Legislatures could no longer have jurisdiction to make laws for all courts and for all places and persons, the constitution and organisation of all courts except the Federal Court, is to be dealt with by the Provincial Legislatures. The schedule lays down the subjects over which the Provincial Legislatures have, and the Federal Legislatures have not, to make laws for a province in respect of matters included in the Provincial list. The control of the Governor-General over Governor's acts is retained in so far as he acts in his own individual discretion or individual judgment. The Executive authority of the Province shall be exercised on behalf of His Majesty by the Governor. Provincial Governments, if aggrieved in administrative matters, could seek the help of the Federal Court and not the orders of Government of India, when the matter is one relating to a legal right or any of the provisions of the Act. The Provincial Governments under Sec. 176 may now sue or be sued in the name of the Province. It is stipulated the Federal Court may come into operation before Federation comes into existence.

The Constitution Act, Part VII, p. 136 to 160, deal with Finance, distribution of revenues between Federation and Federal units. This chapter requires careful study of every one interested in the working of Federation and Provincial autonomy. The "Federation shall levy and collect certain succession duties, stamp duties, terminal taxes and taxes on fares and freights but the net proceeds shall not form part of the revenues of the Federation, but shall be assigned to the Provinces and to the Federated States, if any." Taxes on income other than agricultural income is similarly levied and collected by the Federation but a prescribed percentage of net proceeds in a financial year shall be assigned to the Provinces and the States, if any. The Federation has the right to reserve any prescribed portion for any prescribed period for its own needs and purposes. Corporation tax shall not be levied by the Federation in any Federated State until ten years have elapsed. In the matter of surcharge on income, the State shall be liable to pay the contribution after certain calculation. Under Sec. 147 it is open to a State to claim remission, at the time of Instrument of Accession, and it may obtain concession for twenty years, of any cash contributions payable by that State. In respect of territories ceded to the Crown, the State is entitled to compensation on its signifying the acceptance of the Instrument of Accession. In taking account the value of any privileges or immunity enjoyed by the State should be considered. Be it noted that the Indian States do not contribute any direct taxes to the Federation customs revenues and tariffs are adjusted by an arrangement between States and British India.

The Federal Government is a diarchy as of old. Defence, external relations and ecclesiastical matters are vested in the hands of the Executive who are not responsible to the Legislature. In regard to other Central subjects, Ministers are held responsible to the Legislature. It is feared that Diarchy may expose itself in a very damaging manner considering the many matters wherein the Governor-General could act on his individual discretion or in his own individual judgment. The Statutory Railway authority in which the country invested about 756 crores out of a national debt of 1,235 crores would be free from the influence of politics and is not amenable to criticisms of Legislature but owes allegiance to Governor-General in his discretion. A financial adviser is appointed whose duty it would be to assist by his advice the Governor-General in the discharge of his special responsibility for safeguarding the financial stability and credit of the Federal Government and to advice the Federal Government generally on all financial matters when he was consulted. The Reserve Bank would regulate currency and exchange and safeguard the financial stability and the credit of the country, an essential necessity. A large proportion of federal revenues are mortgaged for all these purposes wherein the Governor-General has to act in his discretion and individual judgment and special responsibilities and it would seem the Ministers responsible to the Legislature have to exploit fresh sources of revenue in order to carry out improvements of subjects for which they are responsible to the Legislature. Nevertheless it may be possible to work the diarchic constitution to the advantage of the country as was done for a time in some provinces. People may condemn diarchy in the centres, but what is the alternative? It is suggested a British Indian Federation should come first and keep the door open for the States to come in after experience of some years. This proposal was not seriously considered in view of the statement the States have made, *viz.*, they could enter into federation only when there is responsibility at the centre. British India pleaded for central responsibility and provincial autonomy but what is the nature of responsibility at the centre now worked out in the Act? No doubt, there is no statutory provision for collective responsibility of Ministers; this has to be developed by conventions and where the party systems are not fully formed or grown into self-reliant organizations, it may be an advantage in the long run, from the administrative point of view, though politically it is unsound.

The Transitional Powers specified in Part XIII of the Act are important. These provisions operate during the period between the commencement of Provincial autonomy and the inaguration of Federation. The Executive authority of British India shall be exercised on behalf of His Majesty by the Governer-General in Council. The Government of India will no longer be an agent of the Secretary of State for India. Therefore, the Governor-General in Council will form for the time the Federal Government. The Secretary of State will exercise a measure of control during the transition. Sec. 316 declares that the powers conferred by the Act on Federal Legislature would be exercised by the Indian Legislature. After Part III came into being, the Indian Legislature will not have power to make laws for the Provinces with respect to any of the matters enumerated in the provincial list. As a matter of fact the Gavernor-General in Council during the interim period takes the place of the Federation, the only reservation being that no power is conferred on them in relation to any matters connected with the exercise of functions of the Crown in its relation with Indian States. The provisions of Government of India Act as revised in the IX Schedule continue to have effect, though the Act was repealed. These previsions indicate that grave responsibilities are placed with the Governor-General in Council and it is therefore felt necessary and desirable to expedite the inauguration of Federation. Federation cannot be long delayed after Provincial Autonomy. The statement of His Excellency the Viceroy at Benares that there need be no apprehension of any delay in bringing Federation as everything possible is being done to advance it, is very encouraging. His Excellency Lord Linlithgow will not waste words ; we must look forward with hope and cheer.

I had not discussed the problem of services. It will be agreed that permanent services should be placed beyond political and party influences. It is a very important subject which I must reserve for another occasion. An independent Public Services Commission in the Centre and in the Provinces composed of just and proper persons expected to remove many evils of the present system. I have also refrained from referring to the provisions relating to discrimination, for it is more of an administrative than constitutional matter. Reciprocity, however, is conceded, nor does India want to discriminate against Great Britain unless there is an impending danger to her own interests. England and India are bound together by many bonds of mutual help, co-operation and abiding goodwill.

Before concluding I may refer you to the opposition there is against the Indian Federation. It is based on the desire to establish a British India strong with autonomous Provinces to be able to enter into an all-India Federation on equal terms with Indian States. The full scheme thereof has not yet been developed by the critics. There being no alternative, it would seem wise and practical to work the proposals in the Constitution Act and improve upon them. By going out of action or by non-co-operation, every opportunity for practical experience is lost. It is admittedly a novel and unprecedented experiment. It has its own defects and drawbacks. Congressmen declared they would wreck the constitution from within or from without and certain other leaders of political opinion are at one with them. There is no unanimity among them, however. Congressmen have had many lessons from the tragic futility of the campaign of non-co-operation, a destructive policy which did no good to the Congress or to the country and resulted in serious damage to the national cause. The many restrictions in the reforms scheme could never have been put in but for the unnecessary alarm created in Great Britain owing to this barren agitation which had shaken the confidence in the Indian Progressive Section. They have yet to prove and convince the people the utility and practicability of their political creed and administrative programme. There is much practical common sense in the saying,—an ounce of practical work is preferable to tons of theories. Common sense will triumph in national service when the utilitarian spirit is unerringly kept in view. Whether one is a constitutionalist or whether the other is a congressman, the end and aim of each such disinterested national worker is to secure greater liberty and greater rights for the whole country and thereby uplift the masses from their economic position. The acid test of the new constitution is whether such power is created and vested in the people. The answer is given with better and greater confidence when you work the reforms, events will march towards the goal, granting goodwill and co-operation.

THE JURISTIC CONCEPTION OF DOMINION STATUS

D. C. GUPTA, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law

IN recent years many jurists and politicians in India have tried to define the concept of Dominion Status so that they can carry conviction to their own countrymen and people abroad as to the exact nature of their national demand.

But can Dominion Status be defined ? Is it a juristic concept ? Or, can we mark out the essentials of this concept to label one part of the British Empire endowed with these essentials as a Dominion and another part bereft of them as a Colony ? And again, are the powers of all the Dominions of the British Empire legally equal ?

Though it is difficult to make cut and dry divisions of the process of the evolution whereby some parts of the British Empire known as Dominions, came to their present stage of legal and political development, we may, for the sake of convenience, divide this development into three divisions: (*a*) from the earliest period of colonisation to 1914 ; (*b*) from 1914 to 1931 ; (*c*) from 1931 to the present day. But as regards the third stage, it must be understood that none can say that the aspirations of the self-governing Dominions have met with full realization ; for, the concept of Dominion Status is a living and growing plant, the growth of which, it is not only difficult to check but also to measure. The concept is a dynamic one and if there be commas and colons, it can never meet with full stops.[1]

Until 1931, there was no legal difference between one part of the British Empire and the other,—no legal difference between the Dominion of Canada or the Commonwealth of Australia and Ceylon, or between the Union of South Africa and Malta. The difference that appeared between the Constitutions of Australia, Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, Newfoundland and the Irish Free State on the one hand, and the rest of the British Empire, was due to the exercise of powers by the respective legislatures based upon acquiescene of the

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[1] It is hoped that the suspension of the Constitution of Newfoundland after the Amulree Report is a temporary measure. It does not indicate any retrogression in the concept itself but it is an unusual measure to cope with the gravity of the situation in a Dominion caused by ramp and misgovernment. See the Journal of Comparative Legislation, 1934.

British Parliament, which may better be expressed as. Convention. The difference was not the difference of legal status but the difference of function. While the relations between Canada, Australia, South Africa, etc., and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom were mostly regulated by conferences and consultations, the relations between His Majesty's Government and India or Ceylon were and are still regulated by law. It is through the development of constitutional conventions, and not by statutory authority, that Canada, Australia, South Africa, etc., attained a status known as Dominion Status,[1] whereas the other parts of the Empire continued to be known as Colonies.[2]

Dominion Status has never been formally granted to any Dominion perhaps with the exception of the Irish Free State. What has usually been done in the past is the grant of responsible government to a part of the British Empire. But this change was not effected by any statute of the Imperial Government but by 'Instructions' sent by the Imperial Government to the colonial Governors. But even the "Instructions" were nothing but second fiddles to conventions, originating for the most part from consultations and conferences between His Majesty's Government and the government of a colony.

Responsible Goverment as commonly understood means that the ministry in its legislative measures must have the support of the Lower House and this is the main characteristic that differentiates a responsible government from the government of a Crown Colony. In the latter, there may be an official majority or "representative Government" which is defined by the Colonial Laws Validity Act, 1865 as "any colonial legislature which shall comprise a Legislative Body of which one-half are elected by Inhabitants of the Colony" and the representative government as defined by the Colonial Laws Validity Act, 1865 may or may not imply responsible government, for the policy of legislation in the former is determined by the Governor and not by the members elected to the legislature. The scheme of the provincial governments under the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme in India and of the government of Malta before its suspension in 1931 were representative but not fully resposible forms of government, as the administration of some of the branches of government were only given to responsible ministers, the rest being kept 'reserved' for the officials responsible to the Governor or for the Imperial Government itself.

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[1] The term "Dominion" was first chosen as the designation of the Government of Canada in 1867, to placate the republican sentiment of the U. S. A., though the Premier, Sir John MacDonald, would have preferred the word "Kingdom."

[2] The Interpretation Act, 1889, Sec. 18, Sub-Sec. 3, excludes the British Isles and India from the definition of "Colony."

The idea of responsible government originated in the Durham Report in 1839 and the first dose of responsible government was given to Canada in 1852 by the "Instructions" from the Secretary of State to the Governor-General that the latter should act on the advice of ministers responsible to the Lower House. When it was decided in 1867 to weld together the different provinces of Canada into a federal unit, it was expected that the existing principle which regulated the relationship between the Government and the Legislature would continue. So, in the text of the British North America Act, 1867, we find nothing to indicate that responsible government should continue to be the basic principle in the administration of Canada and in the preamble we find a feeble expression that the provinces desire to be "federally united into one Dominion under the Crown with a Constitution *similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom.*" Thus, if the British North America Act, 1867, was not so expressive or exhaustive, nevertheless, it derived its vitality from the constitutional conventions and the emphasis on the word "principle" in the preamble only shows that the principle of responsibility of ministry to the Parliament,—which is the corner-stone of the whole structure of the British Constitution,—should also play the part of the most important convention in the Canadian Constitution.

In the Commonwealth of Australia Constutution Act, 1900, and in the South Africa Act, 1909, too, we do not find any direct mention of responsible government. Thus, it was evident from an early stage of the development of the colonies that the Constitution Acts, though comprising the framework of the respective constitutions do not contain every thing that is necessary to ensure harmonious operation of the machinery of government. The very fact that the will of the majority of the elected and through them of the electorate would prevail in the actual working of the Dominion Constitutions not by means of any statutory sanction, but by means of a common understanding,—which we term convention—adds to the obligatory character of the latter.[1]

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[1] *Cf.* Burke, French Revolution (page 20)—"the constituent parts of a State are obliged to hold their public faith with each other......Necessarily, conventional rules spring up to regulate the working of the various parts of the Constitution, their relation to one another and to the subject.........They are in fact the motive power of the Constitution."

But Ireland, with her bitter experience of sufferings and. of hopes deferred for centuries, would not leave her political salvation entirely on vague dicta and generalisations. She had to tread warily, for, not only had she to wrest new powers from old enemies through a tortuous process, but she had to meet violent criticism of factions at home. So " the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland " henceforward called the Irish Free State, made definite provisions for responsible government.

Article 2 gives the Irish Free State the benefit of " the law, practice and constitutional usage " of Canada subject to qualifications and these Articles are made by S. 2 of the Constitution of the Irish Free State (Saorstat Eireann) Constitution Act, 1922, not only an integral part of the Constitution but the cardinal matter with reference to which, the whole Constitution should be interpreted. Thus, if Canada depends for her responsible government on the conventions and usages of the British Constitution, the Irish Free State in her turn, depends to a great extent, on the Canadian " law, practice and usage." But the Constitution of the Irish Free State goes a step further. It actually incorporates many of the important British conventions, so that in the actual government the will of the majority of the electorate may prevail. Thus Art. 51 provides: " The Executive Authority of the Irish Free State is hereby declared to be vested in the King and shall be excercisable in accordance with the law, practice and constitutional usage governing the exercise of the Executive Authority in the case of the Dominion of Canada by the representative of the Crown......The Executive Council shall be responsible to Dail Eireann " (Lower House). Again, Art. 53 says that the President of the Executive Council and the Ministers nominated by him " shall retire from office should he cease to retain the support of the majority." Furthermore, Art. 54 provides : "The Executive Council shall be collectively resposible for all matters concerning the Departments of State administered by Members of the Executive Council .....The Executive Council shall meet and act as collective authority." The net result of the Irish Free State Constitution Act is that Southern Ireland became a Dominion—the baby of the British Commonwealth of Nations, but the first to be formally recognised as a Dominion—not by a slow process of development, doling out responsibilities to the people of the land by niggardly instalments but by a single enactment.

Thus, in summing up, we see that the methods applied in the development of the dominion constitutions have not been uniform. In the constitutions of Canada, Australia, South Africa as well as in those of New Zealand and Newfoundland (now suspended) the basic principle of responsible government has not been enunciated in definite terms by their respective Constitution Acts but rests on constitutional conventions. If the working of the constitution of a Dominion, for instance, of Canada, be left to the Constitution Act itself, in accordance with the strict terms of the text of the Act, it will not work, for, the 'motive power' of responsible government is wanting. "A constitution does not work itself, it has to be worked by men. Conventions provide the flesh which clothe the dry bones of the law; they make the legal constitution work. A constitution is an instrument of national co-operation and the spirit of co-operation is as necessary as the instrument. The constitutional conventions are the rules for effecting that co-operation." [1] But in the case of Ireland, as stated above, many conventions including the convention of responsible government have been inserted in the constitution.[2] The analogy of the Anglo-Saxon elasticity of temperament has not been depended upon.

But responsible government granted to the Dominions did not put an end to the supremacy of the Parliament at Westminster. Thus, while granting new constitutions to the Dominons, the Imperial Parliament reserved to itself in the name of the Crown to 'disallow' legislation of the Dominions. Likewise, the Governor-General could not assent to some Bills which were required to be 'reserved' for King's consent. But the legal right of disallowance, or the right to refuse assent has not been used for many years and so owing to desuetude, a convention developed that such special powers could not be exercised by the Crown or its representative. It must be emphasised that legally the Crown has these powers, for, subject to some statutory exceptions, the rights of the Crown never lapse—*Nullum tempo occurrit regis*—but convention here superseded the law and this marked an important stage of the constitutional development of the Dominions.

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[1] W. I. Jennings, The Law and Constitution.

[2] For other instances, where the conventions of the British Constitution have been incorporated in the Dominion constitutions, see British North America Act, 1867, S. 11; the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia Act, 1900, S. 62; the South Africa Act, S. 12; the Constitution of the Irish Free State Act, 1922, Ss. 51 & 54.

The Colonial Laws Validity Act, 1865, " an Act to remove doubts as to the validity of Cononial laws," is perhaps the most important restriction on the powers of the Dominions. S. 2 provides that any colonial law repugnant to any Act of the Imperial Parliament extending to the colony shall to the extent of such repugnancy be deemed void and inoperative. But S. 3 provides: " No colonial law shall be or be deemed to have been void or inoperative on the Ground of Repugnancy to the Law of England, unless the same shall be repugnant to the Provisions of some Act of Parliament, Order or Regulation as aforesaid."

Again, S. 5 which is equally important reads: Every Colonial Legislature shall have and be deemed at all Times to have had full Power within its Jurisdiction, to establish Courts of Judicature and to abolish and reconstitute the same and to alter the Constitution thereof, and to make Provision for the Administration of Justice therein ; and every Representative Legislature shall, in respect to the Colony under Jurisdiction have, and be deemed at all times to have had full power to make Laws respecting the Constitution, Powers and Procedure of such Legislature, provided that such Laws shall have been passed in such Manner and Form as may from time to time be required by any Act of Parliament, Letters Patent, Order-in-Council or Colonial Law for the time in force in the Colony. The event that hastened the passing of this important legislation by the Imperial Parliament was a series of judgments by Mr. Justice Boothby of the Supreme Court of South Australia, who had declared many Acts of the local Legislature *ultra vires* and void as conflicting with the English Common Law.[1]

The net effect of this statute has been to enlarge the powers of the colonial legislatures. If any Act passed by a colonial legislature conflicts with any Act passed by the Imperial Parliament or with any Order or Regulation made thereunder then it shall, to the extent of such repugnancy, be void, but not so if it infringes only the *principles* of the English Common Law. [2] But from another point of view, it may be argued that the scope of a colonial legislature has been defined within narrow limits ; its functions have been limited not only by the constitution of the colony but also by Acts, Orders or Regulations made by the Imperial Parliament.

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[1] For the history of the controversy, see Keith. Responsible Government, Vol. I, p. 402.

[2] Phillips *vs.* Eyre, (1870) L. R. 6. Q. B. I.; McCawley *vs.* King, (1920) A. C. 691; Riel *vs.* Regina, (1885) L. R. 10. A. C. 675.

The full implication of S. 5 which says that an Act passed by a colonial legislature will be valid if it be passed " in such Manner and Form " as may be required by an Imperial or Colonial Act has been clearly brought out by the recent decision of the Judicial Committee of Privy Council in Attorney-General for New South Wales *vs.* Trethowan, (1932) A. C. 526.[1] The legislature of New South Wales is a representative legislature. A certain section of New South Wales public strongly favoured the abolition of the Provincial Legislative Council and being alarmed by the possibility of this radical move, the Government of the day passed in 1929 an Act providing that any Bill for the abolition of the said Council should not receive the Royal Assent until and unless approved by the referendum of the majority of the voters and that any amendment of the above law should also conform to the same procedure. But when in 1930 the Labour Party, whose avowed attitude against the continuance of the Council was the reason of the passing of the above Act, came to power, two Bills were passed, one repealing the said Act and the other abolishing the Legistative Council, neither of which was submitted to the electorate as required by the Act of 1929. The matter was brought ultimately before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Held that the Act of the New South Wales Legislature had definitely laid down in 1929 a procedure—"The Manner and Form" in the words of S. 5 of the Colonial Laws Validity Act—which was to be strictly followed and that the impugned Bills should have been approved by the electorate at a referendum in the " manner " defined by the 1929 Act and therefore the Bills were not entitled to receive the Royal Assent. Thus, it has been held that a colonial legislature cannot only make a constitutional amendment, if it is within its power, but can also prescribe a definite procedure for the same to be adhered to in all subsequent constitutional amendments including the amendment of the provision which prescribed this procedure.

The Judicial Committee of Privy Council as a historical institution links together the different parts of the British Empire and to this Palladium of Justice, diverse subjects of His Majesty seek justice from distant corners of the globe. Though it is the highest and final tribunal of the Empire, it has to face adverse criticism as an institution to perpetuate the domination of the Mother Country over the

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[1] *Cf.* Taylor *vs.* Attorney-General of Queensland, 23. C. L. R. 457.

Dominions. In theory, the Sovereign still "retains the ancient prerogative of being the supreme tribunal of justice" from the different parts of the Empire save the Irish Free State[1] but in actual practice, "the growth of the Empire and the growth particularly of the Dominions, has led to a very substantial restrictions of the exercise of the prerogative of the Sovereign on the advice of the Judicial Committee"[2]

The Dominion publicists and statesmen who object to the provisions of appeal to the King-in-Council in the Dominion Constitutions cannot be expected to take judicial notice of the fact that the Members of the Judicial Committee—eminent Judges and lawyers though they are—are the repository of all wisdom and forensic learning. Moreover, it is a fact that the feeling of national consciousness in the Dominions does not always regard this institution as a bond between the different parts of the Empire and the Mother Country but as bondage. Perhaps the permanent location of the Judicial Committee in London has something to do with this feeling, though strictly speaking, the Judicial Committee is not a body with any fixed location. The Statute of Westminster, 1931—the implication and effect of which, we shall discuss at the end of the second part of this article—gives the Dominions powers to cut down altogether or curtail if they so desire, the right of appeal to the Judicial Committee and the two important decisions of the same body in Moore and others *vs.* Attorney-General of the Irish Free State and others and British Coal Corporation and others *vs.* King, (1935) A. C., point out the vailidity of the restrictive legislation of the Dominions in this direction.

If we consult the Dominion Constitutions, we find that leave to appeal could be granted in respect of a decision of any Court in Canada, Newfoundland and New Zealand and subject to S. 74 of the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act[3] and Commonwealth Act No. 8 of 1907 from any Australian Court; and subject to S. 106 of the South Africa Act, 1909, from the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of the Union.[1] It is interesting to note that in comparison with the 19th century Dominion Constitutions of Newfoundland, Newzealand and Canada, the early 20th century Constitutions of Australia and South Africa provide for more restricted power of appeal to the Judicial Committee. Thus, we see that in Australia, the High Court of Australia and not the Judicial Committee is the supreme tribunal to pass judgment in which constitutional questions, the criteria of power of a self-governing Dominion, are involved. The Judicial Committee can hear an appeal on a constitutional question from the Australian High Court only when the latter grants a certificate that the " question is one which ought to be determined by Her Majesty-in-Council." [2] Thus, in the constitutional matters the King's prerogative to hear appeals has been waived. Isaacs, J., of the High Court of Australia (who later became the first Australian to be the Governor-General of the Commonwealth) described the Section as " one of the pillars of the constitution " The High Court of Australia has repeatedly observed that in the interpretation of the Constitution not only " its decision but the *ratio decidendi* of its judgment is thereby rendered final."

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[1] Moore and others *vs.* Attorney-General of the Irish Free State and others, (1935) A. C.

[2] Hull *vs.* M'Kenna and others, (1926) I. R. 402 per Lord Haldane.

[3] Australia Constitution Act, 1900, S. 74 reads : No appeal shall be permitted to the Queen-in-Council from a decision of the High Court upon any question however arising as to the limit inter se of the constitutional powers of the Commonwealth and those of any State or States...unless the High Court shall certify that the question is one which ought to be determined by Her Majesty-in-Council.

The unique possession of the Australian High Court has been emphasised in a series of judgments. Thus, in Baxter *vs.* Commissioner of Taxes, 4 C.L.R. 1087, Griffith, C. J., observed: "In our opinion for the first time in the history of the British Empire, a Court has been established as to which it has been declared that no appeal shall be permitted from its decisions unless the Court itself certifies that the question is one which ought to be determined by the Sovereign in Council... ......If the case falls within S. 74, the Privy Council has no authority to review its opinion on that point...........To treat a decision of the Privy Council as overruling its own decision (that is, the decision of the Australian High Court) on a question which it thinks ought not to be determined by the Privy Council would be to substitute the opinion of that body for its own, which would be an

[1] The South Africa Act, 1909 reads : " There shall be no appeal from the Supreme Court of South Africa or from any division thereof to the King-in-Council but nothing herein contained shall be construed to impair any right which the King-in-Council may be pleased to exercise to grant special leave to appeal from the Appellate Division to the King in Council. Parliament (of the Union) may make laws limiting the matters in respect of which such special leave may be asked..........." British South Africa Co. *vs.* Lenon, (1915) 85 L.J.P.C. 111 ; Whittaker *vs.* Durban Corporation, (1920) 90 L.J.P.C. 119.

[2] Daily Telegraph Newspaper Co. *vs.* McLaughlin, 1 C.L.R. 479; Attorney-General of Australia *vs.* Colonial Sugar Refining Co., (1914) A.C. 234; Jones *vs.* Attorney-General of Australia, (1917) A.C. 528; Amalgamated Society of Engineers *vs.* Adelaide Steamship Co., (1921) 29 C.L.R. 206.

unworthy abandonment of the great trust reposed in it by the Constitution...........In our opinion, the intention of the British Legislature was to susbstitute for a distant court of uncertain constitution, imperfectly acquainted with the Australian conditions, unlikely to be assisted by counsels familiar with these conditions, and whose decisions would be rendered many months, perhaps a year, after its judgment has been invoked, an Australian Court immediately available, constant in its composition, well-versed in Australian history and conditions, Australian in sympathies and whose judgments rendered as the occasion arose, would form a working code for the guidance of the Constitution."

It is evident from the Colonial Laws Validity Act, 1865 and from the Constitutions of Canada, Australia and of the Union of South Africa that a colonial legislature is "sovereign within its powers" and this view has been consistently strengthened by the decisions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and the High Courts of the Dominions. From the very nature of things, a colonial legislature finds it necessary for the better administration of its various departments to delegate some of its powers to local authorities. Such power of delegation by a colonial legislature has been questioned in Courts on the ground that a subordinate body like a colonial government derives its powers from the Imperial Governments as delegated to it by the latter and as a delegate cannot delegate—*delegatus non potest delegare*—any delegation of such powers is invalid. But it has been held [1] that a colonial legislature, being sovereign within its powers, can pass any kind of legislation within its ambit. Dr. Kerr summarises the possession of the colonial legislature in this matter as follows: "When it is established that the legislative power over a particular subject matter has been granted by the federal constitution to the Commonwealth, the scope of the power and the *mode of giving effect* to it will receive a broad construction. The power of the Federal Parliament is plenary within this sphere of Sovereignty of the Federation. This is in accordance with the constitutional doctrine as to the plentitude of powers of colonial legislatures that statutes of colonial legislatures have, as to matters within the competence and limits of the jurisdiction of the colonial legislatures, the operation and force of sovereign legislation [Phillips *vs.* Eyre, L.R. 6 Q. B.I; R. *vs.* Cain and Gilhula, (1906) A.C. 542; Webb *vs.* Outrim, (1907) A.C. 81]." Dr. Kerr continues: " The Legislature of the Commonwealth when exercising the legislative powers conferred on the Constitution is no more delegate or instrument of the Imperial Goverment but rather the legislative mouthpiece of the population of one of the world's five continents which is at once a great self-governing democracy and an integral part of the British Empire. To the Parliament of such an autonomous community the maxim *delegatus non potest delegare* has no application." [1]

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[1] R. *vs.* Burah, (1878) 3 A.C. 889; Hodge *vs.* Queen, (1884) 9 A.C. 117; Powell *vs.* Appolo Candle Co., (1885) 10 A.C. 282; Baxter *vs.* Ah Way, (1908) 8 C.L.R. 626; Welssach Light Co. *vs.* the Commonwealth, (1916) 22 C.L.R. 268.

The principle of extra-territoriality is another fetter on Dominion autonomy. It is a recognised principle that a Dominion statute is not to have operation outside the limits of the Dominon. This principle was first authoritatively enunciated in MacLeod *vs.* Attorney-General for New South Wales, (1891) A.C. 455. In Attorney-General for Canada *vs.* Cain and Gilhula, (1906) A.C. 542, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in rejecting the decision of the High Court of Ontario held that persons guilty of a breach of the Canadian immigration laws " might lawfully be deported and for the purpose of deportation might lawfully be kept in a ship outside the limits of Canada." In Croft *vs.* Dunphy, (1933) A.C. 156, Judicial Committee went further; it declared a Canadian Act which permitted the seizure of ships within a distance of 12 miles from the Canadian coasts valid, even though the ships were outside the territorial waters. In both the cases, it was observed by the Judicial Committee that powers to act extra-territorially were necessary to effectuate the main purpose of the statute, *viz.*, to stop the offences intended to be stopped [2] and if the law permitted expulsion of the offender " the extra-territorial constraint necessarily consequent upon the act of expulsion was immaterial to the validity of the right of a deportation." [3] In Robtelmes *vs.* Brennan, 4 C.L.R. 395, the Court observed that though a statute purported to assume extra-territorial jurisdiction would be invalid, yet a statute *intra vires* in all respects but incidentally operating extra-territorially would be perfectly valid.[4]

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[1] D. Kerr, The Law of the Australian Constitution.

[2] *Cf.* Rule in Heydon's Case which says that where the text of a statute is not clear, the evil that the statute is intended to stop should be the guiding factor in the interpretation of the statute.

[3] See also Ashbury *vs.* Ellis, (1893) A.C. 339; Delaney *vs.* G. W. Milling Co., Ltd., 22 C.L.R. and compare Peninsular and Oriental Navigation Co. *vs.* Kingston, (1903) A.C. 471.

[4] The decision is summarised from Kerr's ' The Law of Australian Constitution.'

The question of the Royal Prerogative puts in a peculiar difficulty in the autonomy of the Dominion legislatures. The Imperial Conference of 1926 declared that the Governor-General is not the agent of the British Government but the personal representative of His Majesty the King and that there was to be henceforward direct communications between the Dominions and the Imperial Government. This happy " regalisation " of that high office put into practice the dictum that " King is everywhere present in the Empire," a complement to the other dictum, " the Crown is one and indivisible throughout the Empire." [1] The import of this declaration by the Imperial Conference is that in future the Governor-General will exercise the prerogatives delegated to him, on the advice of the Dominion ministers, and not according to the advice of His Majesty's ministers in London. Dicey defines the Royal Prerogatives as nothing else than " the residue of discretionary or arbitrary authority which at any time is legally left in the hands of the Crown." The ' residue of the discretionary ' or 'arbitrary' powers still enjoyed by the Crown after the cataclysm of the Stuart period is not enjoyed in toto by his representative in a Dominion. The Governor-General of a Dominion only enjoys the prerogatives assigned to him by the Crown and mentioned in the Constitution Act or ' Instructions ' or Letters Patent. [2] It is submitted that any Act of a Dominion legislature, passed before the Statute of Westminster which purports to abridge or take away the prerogatives of the King's representative as conferred on him by the Constitution Act, interferes with the very constitution which establishes a government in a Dominion. This question was discussed in Nadan *vs.* King, (1926) A.C. 482. The Dominion Legislature of Canada had by S. 1025 of the Criminal Code of Canada barred appeals in criminal cases "from any judgment or order of any Court in Canada to any Court of Appeal or authority by which in the United Kingdoms appeals or petitions to His Majesty in Council may be heard." The Judicial Committee held that the above section interferes with the Royal Prerogative of granting special leave to appeal to Privy Council criminal cases and so invalid.

In the matter of foreign relations the Crown still has the absolute prerogative though according to conventions, this prerogative is exercised according to the advice of ministers. The declaration of war in 1914 by England made the Dominions automatically belligerent without their consent. The dependence of the Dominions on the Mother Country in the matter of external relations will be evident, if we examine the method of treaty negotiations between a Dominion and a foreign State. A fully independent government having plenary powers over matters domestic and foreign, does not require authorization or delegation of powers to contract any treaty, commercial or political, with another government. That the Dominions have not yet got the full recognition of 'Dominion independence'—a phrase coined by General Hertzog—can be best exemplified by all the legal obstacles that they have to surmount in the negotiation and signature of commercial treaties with foreign States. The first important treaty between a part of the Empire and a foreign government was signed in 1871. It was a treaty between Canada and the U. S. A. signed by the British Ambassador at Washington on behalf of Canada and not by the Canadian Premier, Sir John MacDonald, though it was he who negotiated the treaty and the terms were settled in accordance with the views of the Canadian government. At the same time an important departure was announced by the British Government in the contracting of commercial treaties with foreign powers. The treaties to be made by the Imperial Government, it was understood, would only bind the United Kingdom and not the self-governing parts of the Empire unless they definitely agree to come within the terms of the treaty. This privilege of separate adherence and withdrawal gave the Dominions freedom of action to a certain extent and has been almost uniformly followed since 1911. But before this the Dominions had suffered a set-back. The Imperial Government had laid down in 1895 that in all future negotiations between a Dominion and a foreign power, the negotiations will be conducted by the British Ambassador at the foreign court and not by any representative of the Dominion government, though where necessary, the Imperial Plenipotentiary may be assisted by representatives of the Dominion concerned.[1] It is needless to say that this position is legally correct, for, at the close of the last century the Dominions had no international status.

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[1] Theodore *vs.* Duncan, (1919) A.C. 206; Williams *vs.* Howarth, (1905) A.C. 551; Muncipalities' Case, 26 C.L.R.; Commonwealth *vs.* Zackariassen, 27 C.L.R. 552.

[2] The Commonwealth *vs.* C.C.S. & W. Co., Ltd., 31 C.L.R. 421; Commercial Cable Co. *vs.* Newfoundland, (1916) 2 A.C.

Any attempt by a Dominion to evade the above restrictions directly or indirectly, could not but have repercussions on its government. Thus, when in 1911, the Government of Canada made an informal commercial agreement with the U. S. A. and this, instead of being signed by the representative of the Imperial Government in strict conformity with the usual practice, was attempted to be put into operation through a statute to be passed by the Canadian Parliament, this departure from the established practice was looked upon with suspicion both by the Canadian Liberals and the Conservatives with the result that it caused the fall of the Liberal Government.[1] As regards the treaties of political nature, although it is the international unit, *i.e.*, the United Kingdom which alone have the legal competence to contract treaties for the whole of the British Empire, a new departure was made in the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of 1911. While the Treaty operated fully as regards the United Kingdom, it was left to the Canadian government to ratify the terms of the Treaty so as to come into force in the Dominion, as owing to a large influx of the Japanese into Canada, the Treaty vitally affected her. The Government of Canada ratified the Treaty but British Columbia did not, and so the Treaty did not bind the latter.

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[1] L. Le. M. Minty, The Constitution of the British Empire.

In the pre-war period of the development of the treaty-making power of the Dominions, perhaps the most important event is the Radio-Telegraphic Convention of 1912. In this conference, a novel device, the issuing of separate " full powers " to the representatives of the Dominions, was adopted, the Dominion representatives taking their seats side by side with the representatives of the Imperial Government, the only difference being that the full powers of the former were qualified by the words "on behalf of Canada or Australia as the case may be." [2] This precedent had important constitutional significance as Professor Keith observed, " for, the essence of this new device was the formal splitting of the Crown for international purposes and the possibility of dissent between different parts of the Empire."

To sum up the position of the Dominions in 1914, before the Great War, we may say that the Dominions had, no doubt, responsible government primarily based on consultations, conferences and conventions. In law, the Parliament at Westminster had in 1914 full legal competence to legislate for the whole of British Empire and the Dominions were not excepted from the all-embracing authority of the Imperial Parliament. But in the practice, the British Government did not very often interfere in the domain of the Dominion legislatures or foist an Imperial legislation on an unwilling colony. Indeed, no Imperial Act was intended for a Dominion or a Colony unless so definitely provided in the Act. (There are a few statutes which, in the interest of the Empire as a whole and for the sake of uniformity in effect throughout the Empire, have been given Empire-wide operation, *e.g.*, the Colonial Laws Validity Act, 1865, Extradition Act, 1870 and 1873, the Fugitive Offenders Act, 1881, the Colonial Courts of Admiralty Act, 1890 and the Copyright Act, 1911, etc.) Thus there were many positive fetters in 1914 on the legislative autonomy of the Dominions as explained above, *viz.*, (*a*) Power of 'Disallowance' and 'Reservation' of the Governor-General, (*b*) The Colonial Laws Validity Act, (*c*) The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, (*d*) The Doctrine of Extra-territoriality, (*e*) The Royal Prerogative, (*f*) Limitations in the Treaty-making Powers and in Foreign or External Affairs.

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Keith, The Responsible Government of the Btitish Empire, Vol. II.

(*To be continued.*)

THE SOCIOLOGICAL CORRELATES OF DEMOGRAPHIC DENSITY.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

OPTIMUM AND DENSITY.

IN the analysis of the optimum number which is tantamount to an investigation into the standard of living *per capita*, it is as a rule the practice to refer to the density of population. This practice is eminently open to question.[1]

The optimum represents a theoretical or rather a hypothetical number of men and women per square mile, *i.e.*, a theoretical or hypothetical density at which the optimum or highest income (and therefore standard of living) is available to everybody in the area *per capita*.[2] If the number is more, *i.e.*, exceeds the optimum density leading thereby to overpopulation the income *per capita* becomes less. On the other hand, if the number is less, *i.e.*, falls below the optimum density leading thereby to underpopulation the income *per capita* becomes less also.

Density by itself cannot be taken as an index to overpopulation or underpopulation. It cannot be regarded as an economic category of substantial importance. It is a mere mathematical or rather arithmetical ratio showing in a crude manner the number of men and women per territorial unit. But overpopulation or underpopulation as well as poverty or deviation from optimum income and standard *per capita* are economic phenomena based on the total earnings of the people. We encounter here a good deal of much complicated socio-economic problems.

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[1] Sarkar, " Comparative Birth, Death and Growth Rates " in the *Journal of the Indian Medical Association* (Calcutta), May, 1932, and " Neu-orientierungen in Optimum und wirtschaftlicher Leistungsfaehigkeit " in *Bevoelkerungsfragen* edited by Harmsen and Lohse (Munich, 1936, pp. 256-267), being a part of the paper presented at the International Congress of Population, Berlin, 1935. See the India Volume of Census Reports, 1931, Part I, pp. 29-32. See also the discussion on population questions in Cannan, *Economic Scares* (London, 1932).

[2] Cannan, *Wealth* (London, 1924), p. 68; Carr-Saunders, *The Population Problem* (Oxford, 1922), pp. 200-203, 213.

The densities of nine Indian provinces and several Eur-American countries as well as China and Japan are exhibited below in five groups classified in two broad divisions (in terms of number of inhabitants per square kilometer)[1] (one Km. = $\frac{5}{8}$ mile) :

I. *High Density Group.*

A.

Very High

Belgium (1930)	...	266
Bengal (India)	...	252
Holland (1930)	...	232

B.

Relatively High

Great Britain (1931)	...	197
United Provinces (India)		177
Bihar-Orissa (India)	...	177
Japan (1930)	...	169

C.

High

Germany (1925)	...	134
Italy (1931)	...	133
Madras (India)	...	128
Czechoslovakia	...	105
China (1930)	...	100

II. *Low Density Group.*

A.

Relatively Low

Hungary	...	93
Punjab (India)	...	92
Poland	...	83
Austria	...	80
India	...	76
France	...	76
Bombay (India)	...	69
Assam (India)	...	61
Rumania	...	61

B.

Very Low

Central Provinces (India)		60
Bulgaria	...	59
Europe minus Russia	...	56
Greece	...	49
Lithuania	...	43
Europe	...	42
Russia	...	26
Burma (India)	...	24
U. S. A.	...	16

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[1] *Annuaire Statistique* (Paris, 1932), p. 201; *Jahrbuch des Statistischen Reichsamts* (Berlin), 1928, p. 1*, 2*, *Census of India, 1931,* Vol. I, Part I, *Report* (Delhi, 1933), p. 35; *Deutsche Wirtschaftskunde* (Berlin, 1930), p. 6; *Statistical Year Book of the League of Nations* (Geneva 1932), p. 22. See also Burgdoerfer : " Bevoelkerungs-statistik " in *Handwoerterbuch der Staatswissenschaften.* Ergaenzungsband (Jena, 1929), p. 105.

The figures for India and the Indian provinces are those derived from the census of 1931. The figures for other countries have been calculated for 1930-31.

NATIONAL INCOME *per capita.*

Let us now place here the indices of national income *per capita* from diverse countries. As is well known, the methods by which national income has been ascertained for different regions are not uniform. From the standpoint of scientific statistics the comparability of these figures for the purpose of surveying the *real* standard of living or economic efficiency is open to question. Subject to these limitations the estimates are being presented with a view to helping the analysis in a somewhat concrete manner.

An estimate of national income *per capita* for pre-war conditions (*c.* 1913-14) is furnished below (in £ sterling):[1]

	A.			B.	
1.	U. S. A. ...	72	1.	Canada ...	40
2.	Australia ...	54	2.	France ...	38
3.	Great Britain and Ireland	50	3.	Germany ...	30
	C.			**D.**	
1.	Italy ...	23	1.	Japan ...	6
2.	Austria ...	21	2.	India ...	4
3.	Spain ...	11			

In regard to the situation just after the war an American survey of national incomes *per capita* yields the following result for 1922 (in dollars): [2]

	A.			B.	
1.	U. S. A. ...	282	1.	Italy ...	85
2.	Great Britain ...	213	2.	Russia ...	42
3.	France ...	179	3.	Japan ...	35
4.	Germany ...	114	4.	India ...	14

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[1] Woytinsky, *Die Welt in Zahlen* (Berlin), 1925, Band I, p. 161.

[2] Fisk, *Inter-Ally Debts* (New York, 1924); Sarkar, *Comparative Pedagogics in relation to Public Finance and National Wealth* (Calcutta, 1929), pp. 86-91; Gini, "Quelques chiffres sur la richesse et les revenus nationaux de quinze Etatas" (*Metron*, Rome, Vol. I, No. 1, 1923) and "La ricchezza comparata delle nazioni" (*Nuova Antologia*, Rome, August, 1926); Vandellos, "La Richesse et le revenue de la peninsule ibérique" (*Metron*, Rome, Vol. V, No. 4, 1925).

The national income *per capita* of certain countries for more recent times is indicated below (in Reichsmarks):[1]

1.	U. S. A. (1926) ...	3,230
2.	Great Britain (1924-25) ...	1,620
3.	Germany (1929) ...	1,095
4.	France (1925)	980
5.	Italy (1928) ...	460

It is now time to examine if there is any correlation between the indices of density and the indices of income.[2]

In the Density-Group IA, the zone of "very high" densities, Bengal which is known to have low national income *per capita* finds herself sandwiched between two high-income countries, Belgium and Holland. Very high density cannot then be correlated with high or low income-scale.

A zone of "high" density is that furnished by the Density-Group IC, which comprises Germany, Madras, Italy and China, and yet in point of income *per capita* neither Madras nor China is on the same level with Italy or Germany. Indeed, even Italy is much below the German level.

Let us take a zone of "relatively low" density, say, the Density Group IIA. We find that Bombay and Punjab have been thrown together with France in the same company. But it is well known that the national income of the French people *per capita* is much higher than that in the two Indian provinces. Indeed the average density of India is identical with that of France. Equality in density is not a function or correlate of equality in income.

Among the high-density countries we have some of the highest income-levels, for instance, Belgium, England and Germany. High density cannot be taken as a correlate of poverty. On the other hand, low density also can be associated with high income. For instance, the U. S. A. with the lowest density has the highest income.

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[1] *Deutsche Wirtschaftskunde* (Berlin, 1930), p. 330.

[2] Compare for a result of a different character Shiomi, "Interrelation between the Wealth and Density of Population in Japan" (*Proceedings of the International Congress for Studies on Population*, Vol. IX, Rome, 1933). On the subject of correlation in demography see Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories* (New York, 1928), pp. 370, 373, 376, 381, 401, 402; and *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology* (New York, 1929), pp. 206-211. 215-216.

Similarly, France with a relatively low density has a relatively high income.

SOCIAL MOBILITY IN INTERNAL COLONIZATION.

The question of demographic density is integrally connected with population movements, both natural (as embodied in births and deaths) and artificial. The artificial population movements can manifest themselves in diverse ways. One of these consists in the export and import of human beings, emigration and immigration, and the positive and negative migration balance. Another is to be found in the percentage of foreign-born living in a region. This second is not necessarily to be confounded with the first and can be treated as a case of "social mobility" in a special sense, as we shall do in the present investigation.

The balance of migration in India, *i.e.*, the excess of immigrants over emigrants in the nine Indian provinces at 1931 [1] can be seen in the following table:

Province	Excess + or −	Population Pressure
Assam	+ 1,241,011	Very Low
Bengal	+ 771,936	Low
Burma	+ 593,324	Low
Bombay	+ 506,707	Low
Central Provinces	+ 227,003	Rather Low
Punjab	− 67,792	Rather High
Madras	− 888,339	High
United Provinces	− 1,063,143	Very High
Bihar-Orissa	− 1,291,567	Very High

In the above table the exporting provinces have been described as regions with "high" population pressure. The "low" pressure regions are those which import the migrants.

Of the nine provinces five yielded positive figures and four negative in 1931. Inter-provincial migration (*innere Kolonisierung* or " internal colonising," used in a rather general sense) was a source of addition to the population strength in the first group only. The other group was marked by adverse balance.

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[1] *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I. India Part I, Report (Delhi, 1933), p. 64. See also the corresponding volume for 1921, Part I, p. 84.

It is not possible to establish any definite correlation between the " balance of migration " and the demographic density. In the positive group we have Bengal with "very high" density (252), Burma (24) and C. P. (60) with " low" density, as well as Assam (61) and Bombay (69) with "relatively low" density. Similarly, the negative group comprises U. P. (177) and Bihar (177) with " high " density, Madras (128) with " relatively high " density and Punjab (92) with " relatively low " density.

In 1921 the Punjab had been in the positive group. But otherwise the grouping of the Indian provinces in regard to the balance of migration was similar to the one in 1931. In each group there were changes in the relative position, however.

In other words, high density is not always to be taken as equivalent to " high population pressure " such as should inevitably lead a region to have itself relieved of surplus population. Similarly it should not be proper on the strength of statistics to establish an equation between low density and " low population pressure," *i.e.*, the tendency to attract immigrants or colonists.

Or, rather, whether a region is to be characterized as one of high or low population pressure depends not so much on the mere quantitative fact, *i.e.*, the arithmetical density or number of persons per square mile, as on the absence or presence of "attractive" features possessed by it in reference to the existing or prospective inhabitants.

It is not entirely correct to state, as Elster does, that the size or number of the population does not play any part in the over-population problem. It is clear, however, that a thinly peopled region can be overpopulated whereas, on the contrary, a region with a specially high density but possessing command over rich resources may not be overpopulated.[1]

THE INDEX OF FOREIGN-BORN.

An aspect of "social mobility," is, as we have referred to above, embodied in the structure of population as regards the birth place.

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[1] Elster, "Das Bevoelkerungs problem," in *Handwoerterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, Band II (Jena, 1924), p. 815.

The presence of persons born elsewhere than in the regions where censused is an index to the import of inhabitants.

The number per 10,000 inhabitants of persons "born elsewhere" than the regions where enumerated is given below for 1931:[1]

Province.	Index.	Social Mobility.
Madras	21	Very low
U. P.	57	Very low
Bihār-Orissa	113	Relatively low
Punjab	237	Relatively low
Bengal	363	Relatively high
C. P.	364	Relatively high
Bombay	475	High
Burma	530	High
Assam	1,523	Very high

It is possible to establish to some extent an inverse correlation between this aspect of "social mobility" and the density. Thus Assam, Burma, and Bombay with high indices of social mobility, as thus defined, are three provinces which belong to the low-density groups. The correlation, however, is not perfect, because the order of increasing or decreasing density is not marked in the order of this aspect of social mobility.

But, on the other hand, Bengal with "very high" density (252) and the C. P. with "very low" density (60), both possess equally a "relatively high" social mobility (363-364). In other words, "relatively high" social mobility can co-exist with "low," "very low" and "very high" densities.

Then the "very low" indices of social mobility, namely, 21 and 57 are possessed by Madras and the U. P. respectively, the provinces which belong to the "high" density groups. Here also we have instances of inverse correlation. Bihar-Orissa may be said to belong to the same category, although not in the same measure as the U.P.

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[1] *Census Report, 1931,* Vol. I (Delhi, 1933), p. 62.

But the case of the Punjab is interesting. This province possesses a "relatively low" density as well as "relatively low" social mobility at the same time.

A somewhat tentative generalisation may then be drawn for practical purposes. Excluding Bengal, the C. P. and the Punjab, and without trying to be quantitative, low mobility can be treated as a correlate of high density and high mobility of low density.

DENSITY AND ECONOMIC RESOURCES.

The problem of social mobility (in the wider sense) *vis-à-vis* demographic density is not simple. But migration may be correlated, among other things, with economic resources, opportunities or attractions. But these resources, etc., need not all be industrial or capitalistic.

The number of companies in British India together with the amount of capital per company is indicated in the following table for the year 1926-27 :[1]

	Province.	Number of Companies.	Average Capital per Company (in Rs. '000).
1.	Bombay	812	1,249
2.	Burma	283	938
3.	United Prov.	215	600
4.	Bengal	2,652	398
5.	Central Prov.	49	209
6.	Madras	662	189
7.	Punjab	173	182
8.	Bihar-Orissa	82	145
9.	Assam	116	58

This schedule cannot entitle anybody to establish a correlation between capital or industrialism and density. The investments of capital and the size of the undertakings as measured by the average amount of investment have not followed the order of the provinces in density.

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[1] Sarkar, "Umfang und Kapitalkraft der industriellen Unternehmungen in Indien" in *Maschinenbau* (Berlin), 16th April, 1931.

On the other hand, it is possible to detect some correlation between economic chances or the amount of capital invested and the migration balance, no matter what be the density.

The extraordinarily high positive balance of Assam is not due to any especial extent to the attraction offered by industrial capital invested in the tea-gardens. The chief factor is furnished by the abundance of waste lands in Assam acting as a spur to the cultivating classes of the neighbouring Mymensingh district in Bengal.

In the cases of Bengal and Bombay the fundamental factor is the industrialisation which serves as a perpetual incentive to "foreign-born" persons whether for investment of capital or for employment-seeking.

It is not only by furnishing employment to the directly industrial population but also by creating demands for aids and accessories of all sorts to industry and industrial workers that industrialization acts as an incentive to immigration. New chances in agricultural work, opportunities for retail trade, as well as transport business and conveyance, fresh avenues for clerical work and so forth have almost invariably to be regarded as items in an industrialization-complex and hence as spurs to internal mobilization or colonization.

The total paid-up capital of the 5,535 joint stock companies in India in a pre-depression year (1926-27) amounted to Rs. 2,770,319,000. Of this sum Bombay alone absorbed Rs. 1,014,489,000 and Bengal Rs. 1,056,332,000.

It is thus possible for both Assam and Bombay each with "low" density to attract immigrants. On the other hand, Bengal, although she is a region of "very high" density, can still entertain large colonies of immigrants. Thanks to the common touch of economic attractions, agricultural Assam, industrial Bombay as well as high-density Bengal have been rendered kin in this respect. Each has demonstrated its capacity to support immigrants although under diverse conditions of density.[1]

In the U. P. and Bihar-Orissa the amount of capital invested in ✓modern industries was not large enough for the area or population. The wealth of land was not powerful enough to keep the people bound to the soil. Indeed in certain regions the soil was already on the verge of exhaustion. Hence these provinces could not afford to offer chances to immigrants in the same manner as Bengal. Rather, their behaviour was negative in migration-balance.

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[1] See the criticism of Gini, *I Fattori demografici dell'evoluzione delle nazioni* (Turin, 1912) and Carr-Saunders, *The Population Problem* (London, 1922) in Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories* (New York, 1928), p. 382, in regard to the two extreme views on correlation between migration and density.

The demographic situation in Bihar and the U. P. may to a certain extent be compared to that of Northern and Southern Italy in pre-war years.[1] The relative absence of fertility, the fragmentation of holdings, the lack of industry, etc., combined to provoke the emigration from Italian villages. The exodus was partially arrested in Northern Italy on account of the beginnings of industrialization during 1906-08. But in Southern Italy, on the other hand, where industry hardly existed the emigration continued but to keep up its enormous level.

Other circumstances remaining the same, a larger amount of capital invested is likely to stem the tide of emigration from Bihar-Orissa and the U.P., nay, convert the negative balance of migration into a positive one.

URBANIZATION IN RELATION TO DENSITY.

While discussing industrialization *vis-à-vis* internal migration it is necessary to call attention to another aspect of this latter movement, namely, urbanization or the growth of towns and cities. In 1931 the percentage of total population living in urban centres was as follows, province by province.[2]

	Province.	Percentage.	Grade.
1.	Bombay	22·4	Very High
2.	Madras	13·5	High
3.	Punjab	13·0	High
4.	U. P.	11·2	High
5.	India	11·0	High
6.	C. P.	10·8	High
7.	Burma	10·3	High
8.	Bengal	7·3	Relatively Low
9.	Bihar-Orissa	4·3	Very Low
10.	Assam	2·3	Very Low

In 1921 the order of the Provinces was virtually the same, except that Burma and the C.P. changed places.

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[1] Kawan, "Les Exodes" in the *Proceedings of the International Congress on Population* (Rome, Vol. VII, 1934), p. 770.

[2] *Census of India, 1921*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 64; 1931, Vol. II, Part I, p. 60.

It is to be observed that urbanization has not made extraordinary progress. The rise of the index from 9·5 per cent. in 1891 to 11 per cent. in 1931 is indeed almost unmentionable.

But from the standpoint of optimum it is worth while to notice that urbanization cannot be itemized as a correlate either of density or of industrialization. Bombay with "relatively low" density is the highest in urbanization, whereas Bengal with "very high" density is "relatively low" in urbanization. The U.P. and Bihar-Orissa are at par in density but in urbanization the former is "high" and the latter "very low." And so on. Again, in point of capitalism and industrialization Bombay and Bengal are almost at par (for certain purposes as indicated above), but the contrast between them in urbanization is immense.

THE ATTITUDES OF FRANCE, ITALY, GERMANY AND JAPAN.

Even without showing a high urbanization index Bengal happens to possess a high density as well as a high industrialization complex. One will have to be very careful in regard to the acceptance of any particular index as adequate for the investigation into prosperity, welfare or decent living.

Exactly what number of men, women and children should be considered as the optimum for a district, region or province in India cannot, then, be ascertained with even modest degrees of precision. Indeed, it cannot be ascertained for any country of the world. It is essentially a question of the standard of living and efficiency, which, as is well known, is very elastic everywhere on earth, and anything but positive. Every province in India, like every nook and corner of Europe and America, possesses a very large number of socio-economic groups, each with its own conception of material and moral well-being. Scientifically speaking, one would therefore be hazarding too much if one were to dogmatize arbitrarily about the optimum having been reached in a certain district, class, region or province. In other words, it should be unreasonable to talk glibly of India as being overpopulated at the present stage.

The conventional conceptions about optimum, demographic density, over-population and standard of living, etc., are essentially unscientific. This is why France, Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, as well as Japan to a certain extent have embarked deliberately upon the

" large family movement."[1] In India we should certainly have to organize measures for heightening the standard of living, class by class, *i.e.*, in other words, to promote the economic development of the country by industrialization and otherwise. But these measures need not necessarily be associated with the restriction of family and inspired by the nightmare of overpopulation or with the object of combating alleged overpopulation. They may indeed go hand in hand with *familles nombreuses*, *familie numerose* or *kinderreiche Familien*, *i.e.*, large families. Like many other doctrines of social science the doctrine of overpopulation also is in the melting pot. While practising caution at every step in regard to the possibility of a relative decline in income *per capita* as well as in the standard of living and efficiency, one should have to attack overpopulation as at any rate but an open question in applied sociology and constructive statesmanship.

The " active " population policy of France has for the last decade and a half been associated among other things with the *allocations familiales* (family allowance) movement. In Italy the Fascist dictum of *riscattare la terra, con la terra gli uomini e con gli uomini la razza* (redeem the land, with the land the people, and with the people the race), has got embodied in the law of *bonifica integrale* (comprehensive land-reclamation) in 1928. Since then demography and *mobilizzazione rurale* as well as the *battaglia del grano* (wheat campaign) have been proceeding as one complex in Italian public finance and economic planning.

Incidentally it may be observed that for scientific purposes high birth rate is not necessarily a function or correlate of village life or of agricultural economy.

It has become almost axiomatic in contemporary population science to assert a correlation between agricultural occupation and high birth rate as well as industrial occupation and low birth rate.

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[1] Boverat, " L'Encouragement national aux familles nombreuses " and Vieuille, " Primes à la natalité " (*Huitième Congrès National de la Natalite*, Paris, September, 1926); Benini, " Da Malthus a Mussolini " (*Educazione Fascista*, Rome, April, 1929); Serpieri, *La Legge Sulla Bonifica Integrale* (Rome, 1931), pp. 12-16; Pietrà, " Il Costo dell 'Uomo " *Proceedings of the International Congress for the Study of Population* (Rome, 1931); Zahn, *Wie die Familie so das Volk* (Munich, 1930); "Das Bevoelkerungsproblem und die volkswirtschaftliche and Kapitalbildung" in *Bevoelkerungsfragen* ed. by Harmsen and Lohse (Munich, 1936); Burgdcerfer, *Volk ohne Jugend* (Berlin, 1932). See also the arguments advanced in favour of Japan by Uyeda in the *Future of Japanese Population* (Tokyo, 1933) and by the writer of *Occupational Changes in Japan* (Tokyo, Liberty of Trading Bulletin No. 4, 1934).

But on an intensive analysis it is difficult to be sure of this correlation.[1]

During 1914-24 Potsdam, Frankfort on the Oder, Hanover, Lueneberg, Stade, Upper Bavaria, Mecklenburg, Swabia and other districts with higher than the average German percentage of agricultural population exhibited extraordinarily low birth rates. On the other hand, highly industrialized districts like Cologne, Aachen, Arnsberg, etc., were remarkable for high birth rates.

The difference between the town and the country in regard to the influence on the birth rate was more or less a demonstrable fact of pre-war times. But to-day that distinction has to a great extent disappeared, as Zwiedineck maintains for Germany. The decline in the birth rate is as much a characteristic of the country as of the town,—of the agricultural classes as of the industrial.

THE NAZI INCOME-TAX *vis-à-vis* DENSITY.

In Germany to-day the ideological contributions of Zahn, Burgdoerfer and other demographists and statisticians have been lifted to a practical plane which bids fair even to transcend the Italian level. The latest piece of world's legislation in behalf of the *kinderreiche Familie* (the family rich in children or the large family) is embodied in the Nazi Income-Tax Act of 1934. According to its provisions a person having one child is privileged to pay tax not on the entire income but on 85 per cent. only. At the same time, no matter what be his income he gets from the Government a *Kinderzulage* (child allowance) of RM. 240 p.a. for one child. If he has two children his income will bear the tax on 65 per cent. only. He will at the same time get from the Government the allowance of 540 RM. p.a. In case of three children the tax falls on 40 per cent. only and the allowance is 960 RM. p.a. For four children the tax falls on 10 per cent. only and the allowance is 1,440 RM. p.a. The family blessed with five children does not have to pay income-tax at all. And it can get an allowance of 10,000 R.M. p.a. in case his annual income is not more than 10,000 RM. In Indian terminology a person earning Rs. 10,000 per year will get from the Government an additional Rs. 10,000 p.a., should he happen to be the father of five children.

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[1] Zwiedineck-Suedenhorst, *Wirtschaftstruktur, Bevoelkerung und Volkstum*, lecture at the Conference of Oeynhausen, February, 1933, under the auspices of the Friedrich-List Gesellschaft; Levasseur, *Questions Ouvrières* (Paris, 1907), pp. 288-289.

The word " child " means, for the purposes of this Act, the young man or woman up to the 25th year, who is however at school.

The following categories of income are entirely exempt from the income-tax :

1. RM. 100 p.m. : with one child
2. RM. 125 p.m. : with two children
3. RM. 175 p.m. : with three children
4. RM. 275 p.m. : with four children
5. RM. 850 p.m. : with five children

Nazi taxation is well calculated to foster large families and counteract the German counterpart of the "international birth strike," engendering thereby a reshuffling of the demographic densities. In fact, during the year 1934 the birth rate was almost double that of 1933.[1]

The conditions in India or China are not identical with those in Germany, France, or even Italy and Japan. Nor are these latter countries identical with one another. But the economic and other arguments behind Boverat's *L'Encouragement national aux familles nombreues* (State Subsidy to Large Families), Korherr's *Geburtenrueckgang* (Decline in Birth rate), and Mussolini's *Il Numero come Forza* (Number as Force) are eminently calculated to evoke an unsettling of the settled questions, should there happen to be any, in optimum, standard of living, overpopulation, and desirable density.[2]

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[1] Burgdoerfer in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (Berlin), 3rd March, 1935; *Rassenpolitische Auslandskorrespondenz* (Berlin), No. 2, 1935; Sarkar, " The Care for Children in the New Income-Tax of Germany " (*Calcutta Review*, November, 1934).

[2] *Huitième Congrès National de la Natalité* (Paris, 1926); *Sueddeutsche Monatshefte* (Munich, 1927); *Gerarchia* (Milan, 1928); Gini in " Lo Stato Mussoliniano " in *Rassegna Italiana* (Rome, 1930) ; Zingali, " I Provvedimenti Mussoliniani per lo Sviluppo quantitative equalitativo della populazione " (Rome, 1931-34); Burgdoerfer, *Kinderreichtum—Volks reichtum* (Berlin, 1933), and "Bevoelkerungsentwicklung" (*Bevoelkerungsfragen*, Munich, 1936).

A PLEA FOR BETTER TREATMENT OF THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION IN INDIA

D. N. MAJUMDAR, M.A., P.R.S., PH.D. (CANTAB.)

THE formation of excluded and partially excluded areas primarily meant to safeguard the interests of primitive and aboriginal tribes will soon be an accomplished fact. The purpose of this reservation is to give the aboriginal tribes special facilities for progress. Under a protective form of administration some tribes in India have progressed at a prodigious rate and under protective laws many tribes have succeeded in adapting themselves to changed economic conditions. Unrestricted contact with advanced social groups who are economically more organised than the tribes, has led in many areas to a disorganisation of tribal life and exploitation of the tribes leading to maladaptation and decline of some important tribal groups.

There was a time when one could travel over vast areas of the world exclusively inhabited by savage and semi-savage peoples who had never come in contact with civilised races. There were many tribes in India who lived in secure asylums in hills and forests, lived on fruits and tubers, wore leafy cloths or rags round their loins. To-day most of these tribes have come in contact with advanced communities, have learnt traits of their neighbours, have borrowed patterns of their dress and developed an intricate material economy. Some of these tribes have progressed at a tremendous pace effecting in a few years changes which have taken centuries to achieve in other areas.

Contact with civilisation is brought about in a number of ways. (1) Existence of mineral resources in and around the primitive tracts has helped immigration of foreigners who influence the culture and mode of life of the indigeneous inhabitants in a variety of ways. (2) The administrative officers and missionaries have introduced significant changes in the cultural life of the primitive tribes everywhere. The tribal beliefs in mysterious and impersonal force or in other words the concept of *mana* or *bonga* or *aren* has endowed the officers of the Crown and missionaries with unlimited powers for good or evil and in many areas the tribal people have learnt to imitate the ways of these foreign elements in the population. (3) The itinerant vendors of imported toys and trinkets, the shawl merchants and travelling agents who tour with patent medicines, imported cloths and brass and bell-metal utensils have penetrated into the most inaccessible parts of hills and jungles and they have left their impress on the cultural life of savage and semi-savage groups. (4) The tremendous development of transport and communications has led to filtration of alien traits of culture. (5) The displacement of the tribal people in many areas from their hereditary possessions of *jhum* lands has led to a change of occupation, and tribes that eked out their subsistence from the forests have to enlist themselves as members of gangs which go out to the tea gardens and plantations for small cash earnings which do not even supply their primary material needs. Yet they bring back with them traits of culture which are passed on and accepted by the community on account of the prestige they possess.

Most of the primitive tribes have come under the influence of the caste system and have swelled the number of depressed communities while others have been converted into Christianity and have escaped the tyranny of caste rules. Where the tribes have lived for long in association with the lower castes and where the former do not suffer from much discomfort or exploitation at the hands of alien groups, the tribes have gradually entered into the social economy of the caste system. The line of demarcation between popular Hinduism and tribal religions is thin and it is difficult to know when a tribe crosses the line to Hinduism. Where again there is a clash of interests between the tribal people and Hindu landlords and the former have been subjected to hardships or have been dispossessed of their rights to land or have been reduced to servitude where the land-grubbing middlemen have usurped their yields and have forced them into the grip of moneylenders, Christianity has proved a great ally of the tribes. The cause of the rapid spread of Christianity in Chota Nagpur where 98 p.c. of the Indian Christians have been recruited from the aboriginal population, is the secular benefit the Christian converts enjoy rather than the spiritual side of the new religion. The Kol rebellion of 1832 was the direct result of the tyranny and persecution of the Mundas by the alien elements in the population of the Chota Nagpur plateau as recorded in the following song sung even to-day:—

The Pathans have taken our *hoormat*,
    The Sikhs our sisters. Our lives
Are of no use, so being of one tribe let
    Us unite, kill, destroy and plunder.

The effect of this upheaval is best conveyed in the following sentence taken from a report of the German Mission in Chota Nagpur. "Let us give up demon worship, become Christians and be instructed, that assisted by the Padris we may be saved from the unjust operation of the Hindus and regain the land that we have been deprived of."

Contact with civilisation is responsible for tribal discomfort everywhere. We may briefly summarise the important effects of this contact. (1) The excise laws in primitive areas are hitting the aboriginal groups hard. The outstill system has led to an increase of drunkenness and immmorality. The Government is making money by means of this policy. Liquor has become very cheap and the aboriginal population who used to brew their own liquor are finding it uneconomic to do so and are taking more and more to liquor shops. The protest of Mr. F. R. Willis of the Dublin Mission, Hazaribagh, against the excise policy of the local Government may be cited in this connection. (*Statesman*, Dec. 1, 1935.)

(2) The displacement of tribal officers by those nominated by the Crown for administrative efficiency has disorganised tribal life in all its aspects. In some tribes, the centre of authority has now been shifted from the tribal officers to young men who have seen life outside and who show scant courtesy for tribal knowledge or culture. The verdict of tribal officers is frequently challenged though the people are yet uncertain as to the utility and propriety of newly introduced behaviour patterns. (3) The tribal land used for Jhumming is held to be unclassed State Forest and the possessors can be ousted without any sort of compensation as has often been done. (4) Quarrying stone, gravel and ores for private use is forbidden to the owner of *jhum* land where they may lie and the license fee demanded for quarrying is prohibitive. (5) Jhumming or *dahiya* cultivation has been prohibited by the State thus forcing the primitive tribes to a kind of agriculture unsuited to them. (6) Marriage by capture commonly practised by the primitive tribes is often treated as abduction and the offenders are punished under the provisions of the Indian Penal Code. The exorbitant bride-price makes it hard for young men to marry under normal conditions and marriage by capture which has taken a harmless form among some tribes and may be interpreted as marriage by mutual choice, affords a satisfactory escape from tribal control. The recognition of this custom as

offence punishable by law will seriously undermine social solidarity and lead to racial dysgenics. (7) Tribal ceremonies and festivals have been replaced or superseded by fairs and weekly markets which attract them by their novelty but which ultimately bring about their financial ruin. (8) The system of education which has been introduced in the tribal areas either through missionary efforts or by local governments is unsuited to their life and ideals and the result of this education has been more harmful than otherwise as has been noticed among the Hos, the Lushais and many other tribes. (9) Tribal customs and usages are often at variance with the complicated system of law and legal procedure obtained in the British system of justice and the tribal people have to endure discomforts due to the fact that the judges and magistrates, although they may be inspired to do justice, cannot do so as they are not conversant with the languages, customs and mentality of the people. (10) Missionary influence has not been all to the good, as they have learnt to despise themselves and their traditional culture, have further acquired the amenities of a higher standard of life without the necessary means to provide them. (11) Lastly, the introduction of diseases through contact for which they possess no efficient indigenous pharmacopaea have invaded the security of tribal life and medical aid available is too insignificant to cope with the situation.

Analysis of Census Figures of 1931 shows that the primitive tribes of India have gained in number during the last decade. From 16 millions in 1921 they have increased to 25 millions in 1931. Some of the tribes have no doubt lost in number due to conversion but they have gained in strength as tribes. The Mundas for example show an increase from 333,464 in 1891 to 658,450 in 1931. So do the Hos and the Sonthals of Chota Nagpur. The tribal people of Chota Nagpur enjoy certain privileges, some of them are under a protective system of administration while most of them are governed indirectly through their tribal chiefs and are exempt from the operation of certain laws and enactments which are detrimental to their interests. But conditions are not the same everywhere and we find that a large number of tribes show a decline or a tendency to decline.

The Todas show a gradual decline in number from 689 in 1881 to 1,731 in 1891 : 807 in 1901 ; 748 in 1911 ; 640 in 1931. The Hinduised Asurs of Bihar and Orissa show a decline from 3,716 in 1911 to 2,024 in 1931. The tribal Asurs have declined from 3,099 in

1911 to 639 in 1931. The Korwas of U.P. have declined from 917 in 1901 to 467 in 1931. The Hindu Korwas in Bihar and Orissa have declined from 6,765 in 1911 to 1,462 in 1931. In Hyderabad, the Korwas have decreased from 1,204 in 1921 to 1,121 in 1931. In C. P. and Berar they have declined from 876 in 1911 to 384 in 1931. Thus it is evident that the Korwas are preparing for an exit like the Andamanese.

The Kotas in Madras have declined from 1,204 in 1921 to 1,121 in 1931. The Hinduised Malaryans of Travancore have decreased from 4,809 in 1,891 to 2,807 in 1931, while tribal Malaryans have suffered a heavier loss, *i.e.*, from 2,858 in 1921 to 128 in 1931. The Mavillans of Madras, Hindu and tribal, have decreased from 2,590 in 1891 to 1,311 in 1931. The Jatapu Khonds of the Madras Presidency show a decline from 92,520 in 1911 to 78,132 in 1931. The number of Khonds in the C. P. States has declined from 33,124 in 1901 to 26,192 in 1931. The Gonds of C. P. and Berar show a tendency to decline. There were 1,666,764 Gonds in 1891. Since 1901 and up to the 1921 census, the figures for Marias, Murias, Bhattras and Parjas were included with Gonds, yet the strength of the Gonds is only 1,714,898. In the Central Provinces States, the number of Gonds in 1911 were 578,752. It declined to 394,685 in 1921 and still went down to 369,303 in 1931.

The Angami Nagas have decreased from 51,730 (tribal) in 1921 to 49,239 in 1931 and from 51,730 (Christian) in 1921 to 48,655 in 1931. There are many tribes who have recorded an increase in their total strength but the trend of this increase reveals a downward slope. Thus the Kols increased from 148,248 in 1911 to 328,246 in 1921, that is by 180,000, but in 1931, the increase in their ranks is only 40,408. The Khorwars of Bihar who have been Hinduised show a tendency to decline. The Bhils of C. P. have declined from 41,868 to 30,303, in 1931, we had the lowest figure for the Bhils, *i.e.*, 24,865 but in 1931, there has been but a slight increase of 5,438. The net variation in the number of Bhils since 1891 is −285. The Saoras of C. P. and Berar show a decline from 1911 to 1921 but in 1931 have increased by 11,413 but in the C. P. States they do not show any increase.

It is true that correct estimates of hill and forest tribes are difficult and as the wild and nomadic tribes have settled down the estimate of their total strength is becoming more and more accurate, so that the figures of 1931 are on the whole more reliable than those arrived at preceding enumerations. It is therefore apparent that the tribes must show a numerical increase, as many who lived in the hills and fastnesses in wild and inaccessible areas have come back to the plains. Besides the tremendous development in the means of communications has made the task of enumeration easy. In spite of this we find that a large number of tribes show a decline or a trend towards it.

In the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, Vol. XXV, 1929, I discussed the effects of a changed economic environment on the Korwas of the United Provinces. A first-hand enquiry into the Korwa settlements of Kundpan and Bisrampur revealed how the fertility rate of the Korwas had suffered a check and how the stringent restrictions imposed by the forest laws have released them from their traditional occupations without providing any useful occupation to assist them in their attempts at adaptation and how the disparity in the proportion of the sexes, imported diseases, loss of ambition in life and similar factors are leading to a depopulation in their ranks.

Mr. J. P. Mills in his notes on the effects on some primitive tribes of Assam of contacts with civilisation has shown that improved communications while they have immensely facilitated internal trade, have undoubtedly spread diseases. Not only have specific diseases such as venereal disease and tuberculosis been introduced, but epidemics spread more quickly. The Khonds of the agency tracts, Ganjam District, have been suffering from venereal diseases. 15% of the Khonds of this area, on a modest calculation, show signs of syphilitic affections, congenital or acquired. Syphillis is known as ' Khonds ' disease ' in these parts. The social laws and usages of the Khonds make it possible for an indiscriminate mixing of the sexes before marriage. When the man and wife with immature children go to the hill-tops for ' Podu ' cultivation, young men and women are left behind in the village. The bachelors of the village sleep in one dormitory and the maidens share another. As marriage within the *gochi* or village is prohibited by tribal custom, the bachelors of one village migrate to the neighbouring village and share the dormitory with the maidens of that village. Thus there is a shifting of scenes from village to village till each man finds his sweet-heart. Thus any acquired disease can be passed on through such indiscriminate mixing and it is no wonder that the Khond disease has acquired such a tremendous magnitude to-day. The interference with the indigenous officials of the tribal polity by the administration has led to a disorganisation of tribal life so much so that the authority of tribal elders has been reduced to a minimum. This has naturally led to a lowering of the standard of morality in the tribal society.

The tribal people know indigenous herbs and plants which are efficacious in many of the diseases to which they are heir to, while magic divination and leechcraft exercise a psychological control over the patient. But for imported diseases they have no other alternative than to pray to the gods of the people who are responsible for these diseases and thus in Chota Nagpur and elsewhere, the tribal gods are losing their clientèle, while gods of the Hindus and Christian apostles are crowding their pantheon to-day. Loosening of social control which was formerly exercised by the tribal elders through an elaborate system of tabus and prohibitions, has led to a neglect of customary habits regarding health and hygiene, habits which were of great survival value and which should be perpetuated under any scheme of social progress. The love of finery and the adoption of the dress and habits of the higher cultural groups without the necessary means to secure them, have led to an increase of poverty among the people. By degrees the lands of old tenure belonging to the primitive tribes are passing into the hands of Shahukars who exploit them. Due to lazy habits and increase of wants these people have to incur debts and the usury ranges from 25 to 100 per cent. or more. The reactions of the forest laws on the hill and aboriginal tribes has been considerable. The hill-tribes roamed the forest areas more or less at will, were generally the sole purveyers of forest produce and destroyed forest growth as and when they chose. With the introduction of a system of afforestation and consequent stringent forest laws this liberty of action of the tribes has naturally been curtailed and many of these tribes have fallen back to a kind of crude farming which has not provided an efficient means of livelihood for them. These tribes organised hunting bands and made inroads into the densest part of the forest, where besides a successful bagging of game they could procure fruits and roots which supplied them enough nutriment. Fruits and roots of the forest which offered them sustenance during frequent crop failures are only available in the densest part of the forest and the people dare not seek them for fear of ferocious animals whom they are not allowed to kill as also of crossing the fire line demarcated by the forest authorities. The abrogation of the customary rights and the restriction of large areas of forest and the resulting diminution in the supply of foods have meant severe hardship to the tribal stock. Prior to the easy import of petroleum in its many forms enormous quantities of charcoal were required by the public and the supply of this demand was the monopoly of the forest tribes. This trade has considerably suffered and has released a large number of forest people from this occupation. The toll of miseries of the primitive tribes is increasing and unless effective means are employed by the administration to control the situation, the vital decline of the tribes will be an accomplished fact.

The hill and forest tribes are not segregated units and although they differ from one another in language and culture and from the people of the plains in custom, law, race and language there is no radical difference in mental outlook between them. Many of the differences have been bridged and many tribal groups have given proof of a wonderful capacity for acculturation without abandoning their indigenous cultural patterns. In some areas they have always been subject to the ordinary laws and the ordinary system of administration. In certain areas again the little progress the aboriginals have made has been entirely due to their association with the advanced sections of the community. The discomforts that the tribal society is experiencing to-day in economic and social life and the neglect of the authorities in matters relating to their education, sanitation, health and hygiene although these are under popular ministers,. press for remedies and it is high time that something should be done in the shape of ameliorative and protective measures which will assist them in their struggle for adaptation. Whether exclusion will help the aboriginal tribes or special provisions in the Constitution by ear-marking certain percentage of the Provincial revenues on the basis of population for the development of the tribal areas and for welfare work among them would meet the situation is a matter of opinion. But it is imperative that the primitive tribes of India who form 7% of the total Indian population and who even to-day represent a vigorous and sturdy stock capable of adjusting and adapting themselves under careful supervision should be protected from indiscriminate exploitation by advanced social groups and their rights and privileges should be adequately safeguarded till they can feel that they are a part of a larger political whole and are able to take their place by the side of their compatriots of the plains.

It is absurd to think of isolating the primitive tribes. The streams of cultural contact will increase as years roll on and they will have to come in line with other castes and social groups.

Under the complicated conditions of modern life, the primitive tribes are not in a position to take their future in their own hands. The possibilities of primitive tracts, the great riches of raw material, both vegetable and mineral as well as the capacity of the tribes for consuming manufactured goods by participating in the economic development and exploitation of the resources of their habitat, make it necessary that the primitive tracts should be opened up by a network of communications. Under favourable circumstances or under a system of protective legislation, the Sonthals, the Hos, the Cheros and the Majhwars have adjusted themselves to changed conditions. But wherever tribal rights to land have not been protected, the tribes have suffered and have been degraded into serfs or slaves mostly of the Shahukars. It is therfore imperative that a forward policy of economic uplift among the primitive tribes should be introduced with protective legislation against exploitation by alien people.

THE BYRONIC HERO—A STUDY IN DEVELOPMENT

AMIYA KUMAR SEN, M.A.
Calcutta University.

I. The Byronic Hero—The First Stage

THE BACKGROUND OF PERSONALITY.

SCOTLAND, its storm-swept rocks sacred to freedom and love, its valleys echoing the roar of foaming cataracts and in the midst of them all, the romantic figure of a boy, clad in the bonnet and plaid of a Highland chief ! He wanders through the "pine-covered glade" pondering on "chieftains long perished." He drinks in the beauty of the landscape and returns slowly homeward when

> "......................the day's dying glory
> Gives place to the rays of the bright polar star."

He hears the voice of the dead rising "on the night-rolling breath of the gale." He dreams of the rejoicings of the heroic soul as it "rides on the wind, o'er his own Highland vale." The stormy mist gathering round the mountain-lake, the tempests that encircle the white summits of the hills, the wild and majestic crags and the steep frowning glories of the Highlands—all leave their impress on his youthful mind. The mysterious and awful aspects of nature attract him most and he often conjures up before his imagination visions of his soul riding "poised on the gale" or descending the mountain-side, "dark in mist."

Such is Byron, the romantic child of a romantic age. The joys and sorrows of a passionate personality are all his; his also the dreams and raptures of an immature adolescence. He looks on the beauty of his mistress and then his "pulse beats quick"; his "breath heaves short"; and "cold dews overspread his pallid face"; his "head droops with heavy languor"; and his ears "ring with tingling echoes."

Gray and his school made melancholy fashionable and our young poet must also sigh and weep for his Emmas and his Carolines:

" And yet, my girl, we weep in vain,
In vain our fate in sighs deplore;
Remembrance only can remain,—
But that will make us weep the more."

He has his "gloomy moments," and even at that early age can think of "life's last conflict" and his "fond expiring gaze."

The past, so dear to the romantic admirers of ballads and Ossianic poems gradually gathers shape before his imagination. Slowly there rises up around him the entire middle ages with its "mail-covered Barons proudly leading their vassals to Palestine," its minstrels and their "harp-stringing numbers," its escutcheons and its shields, its high-embattled towers and proud damozels. An atmosphere of romantic glamour envelops him and he lives in the past. The glorious history of England, her triumphs at Crecy and Agincourt, the heroic exploits of her brave loyal hearts fill his mind with ardour and enthusiasm.

Youthful dreams and youthful desires, love not deeply felt yet full of vague yearnings, the melancholy of youth yet a keen joy in the mysterious and awe-inspiring aspects of nature, an imagination reviving and re-creating the past—Byron has them all in his early youth. He is the child of his age, catching on his forehead the full glow of the Romantic Revival.

He is passionate and proud. He can never brook opposition. The slightest disappointment maddens him and he pours forth his heart in verses which tingle with emotion. Eyes which brighten with "red fury," glances which launch their "lightnings in vengeance," lips which breathe "a flame no stream could assuage"—they have for the poet a significance they never had before. The melancholy of his early life deepens into despair. The present becomes a hell and the "coming tomorrow but brings with new torture the curse of today."

" Life beams not for us with one ray that can cheer,
Love and hope upon earth bring no consolation,
In the grave is our hope, for in life our despair."

There is bitterness in this cry of Byron's heart—a bitterness born of experience. The poet who sang of the human heart throbbing with delight to the first kiss of love now stands disillusioned. Woman is at best "a fair and fond deceiver;" "her vows are traced in sand."

"Now hate rules a heart which in love's easy chains
Once passion's tumultuous blandishment knew;
Despair now inflames the dark tide of his veins
He ponders in frenzy on love's last adieu."

Deep distress humanised the soul of Wordsworth; it embittered Byron's.

An ancient mansion and an antique Oratory. Our poet was there, pale and alone. A girl entered, the lady of his love, serene and smiling. He

"............ took her hand; a moment o'er his face
A tablet of unutterable thoughts
Was traced, and then it faded as it came;
He dropp'd the hand he held and with slow steps
Retired.............................. "

"...................................he pass'd
From out the massy gate of that old Hall
And mounting on his steed he went his way
And never repass'd that hoary threshold more."

His whole world was changed. The bleak and barren hills of Annesly were no longer clothed with the radiance of beauty. The golden dreams of youth which had so long been painting his future in the roseate hues of hope faded away. All on a sudden the poet felt that he must no longer tread the mystic round of Romance. "Disgusted with deceit" he fled from her motley court—

"Where Affection holds her seat
And sickly sensibility;
Whose silly tears can never flow
For any pangs excepting thine,
Who turns aside from real woe,
To steep in dew thy gaudy shrine."

There were bitter questionings of the heart, frank admissions of his failings. He had been haughty and wild by nature,—"a favourite child of Indiscretion." Error had marked him for its own. He was doomed to fall.

"Each knell of time now warned me to resign—
"Shades where Hope, Peace and Friendship all were mine."

These moods of introspection were, however, short-lived. Like the Cavalier poets of old, Byron, with just a toss of his head, sought consolation in change.

> "If still from false pride, your pangs she deride
> This whimsical virgin forget ;
> Some other admire, who will melt with your fire,
> And laugh at the little coquette."
>
> "For me, I adore, some twenty or more,
> And love them most dearly, but yet,
> Though my heart they enthral, I'd abandon them all,
> Did they act like your blooming coquette."

He would fain drown his sorrow in drink—

> "In the days of my youth, when the heart's in its spring
> And dreams that affection can never take wing
> I had friends—who has not ? —but what tongue will avow
> That friends, rosy wine ! are so faithful as thou ? "
>
> "The heart of a mistress some boy may estrange,
> Friendship shifts with sunbeam—thou never canst change;
> Thou growest old—who does not ?—but on earth what appears
> Whose virtues, like thine, still increase with years."

All this gaiety and youthful bravado was, however, superficial. This cry for wine and change could never satisfy the poet's soul. His bravado was a mere mask to conceal his wounded heart. His lips might be mute and his eyes dry—

> "But in my breast and in my brain,
> Awake the pangs that pass not by,
> The thought that ne'er shall sleep again.
> My soul nor deigns nor dares complain
> Though grief and passion there rebel."

"A sullen calmness of despair" now overwhelmed him. His hopes were shattered ; no "gleam of peace" shone through his "cloud of anguish." His blood ran coldly through his veins. He now hated "the touch of servile hands"; he despised "the slaves that cringed around." Gay companions might, indeed, dispel, for the moment, his sense of ill ; pleasures might, for a while, "stir his maddening soul," but his dissipations were so many dead-sea fruits,—glittering without and ashes within. His heart was cheerless. He was disgusted with life and weary of the world. He must forget the past, flee away from his bitter experiences.

> " Fain would I fly the haunts of men—
> I seek to shun, not hate mankind ;
> My breast requires the sullen glen
> Whose gloom may suit a darken'd mind."

He bade farewell to his muse—

> " This bosom responsive to rapture no more,
> Shall hush thy wild notes, nor implore thee to sing ;
> The feeling of childhood, which taught thee to soar,
> Are wafted far distant on Apathy's wing."

His visions were now flown—never to return.

The dreams and romantic aspirations of youth crushed out of existence by bitter experience, despair seeking to lose itself in dissipation and change, the swift recoil of a youthful mind as yet uncontaminated by cynicism, wistful yearnings of the soul for consolation and peace—such are the characteristics of the poet at this significant stage of his mental development. And it is against the background of this Byronic personality that Childe Harold gradually gathered shape and form.

CHILDE HAROLD

" Harold," said Byron, " is the child of imagination introduced to give connexion to the poem." His contemporaries differed. They seemed to find in this "Childe" of the middle ages, characteristic features which reminded them of a living poet. Both were right. Harold is indeed a creature of imagination but the stamp of his creator's personality is indelibly impressed on him. He is, in fact, a Byronic mood realised in the objective world.

Like his creator, Harold

> " Had sighed to many, though he loved but one,
> And that loved one, Alas! could never be his."

He had felt the fullness of satiety. Sore sick at heart he shrank from the very presence of his fellow revellers. They were mere

" flatterers of a festal hour," " the heartless parasites of present cheer." A gloom " which even beauty could not unsettle " overwhelmed him. The demon thought pursued him ceaselessly from one distant realm to another. " Drugged with pleasure," he longed for change, an opportunity to forget the bitter experiences of his life. His was not however an open artless soul. He did not seek consolation from friends and associates. Strange pangs might flash along his brow: a sullen tear might often start ; but " Pride congeal'd the drop within his ee' and

> "......in his bosom slept
> The silent thought nor from his lips did come
> One word of wail."

Ever restless in his search for peace, eager to breathe the sweetness that is in the mountain air he finds a strange interest in the wild and magnificent aspects of nature.

> " The horrid crags, by toppling convent crown'd,
> The cork-trees hoar that clothe the shaggy steep,
> The mountain-moss by scorching skies imbrown'd,
> The sunken glen, whose sunless shrubs must weep,
> The tender azure of the unruffled deep,
> The orange tints that gild the greenest bough,
> The torrents that from cliff to valley leap,
> The vine on high, the willow branch below,"

mixed in one mighty scene, sank into his heart and gave him consolation. The broken arch and the ruined hall, " the chambers desolate and portals foul" of Athens, its silence which spread " the couch of ever-welcome rest "—found a responsive echo in the soul of Harold. His " seeming marble heart " now " masked in silence or withheld by pride " could turn to nature alone as a consoler.

> " To sit on rocks, to muse over flood and fell,
> To slowly trace the forest's shady scene
> ....
> To climb the trackless mountain all unseen,
> With the wild flock that never need a fold
> This is not solitude; 'tis but to hold
> Converse with nature's charms and view her stores unroll'd."

Nature was the kindest mother to him. " Fairest in her wildest features," she smiled upon the desolate heart of Harold—every day and every hour. Her very wrath had in it a beauty which appealed to the wanderer from the sordid world. The rainbow tints and magic charms of monastic Zitza, "the volumed cataract which rolled between hanging rocks," the convent that glistened white amidst the dusky grove, Nature's volcanic amphitheatre which loomed, dark and huge, in the distant horizon—they were all attuned to the spirit of the Childe who stood "a ruin amidst ruins."

Inspite, however, of this disillusionment, Childe Harold was not completely isolated from the world of human joys and sorrows; his bitter experiences had brought a philosophic calm in their wake. He was no longer moved by the gay life of the countryside. Passion seemed to have burnt itself out,

> "And vice, that digs her own voluptuous tomb
> Has buried long his hopes, no more to rise:
> Pleasure's pallid victim ! life-abhoring gloom
> Wrote on his faded brow cursed Cain's unresting doom."

He could not indeed mingle in the throng of pleasure-seekers ; but he did not view them with the hatred of a misanthrope either. He witnessed their joys and would fain join them in their celebrations. Disappointment had not rendered him absolutely callous to the world. On the contrary, the enthusiasm he felt for the "shattered splendour" of Greece, her "temples mingling slowly with heroic earth," the scorn which he poured on her "hereditary bondsmen" all show that his heart had not lost its vitality. It could still respond to whatever was noble in human nature.

2. The Byronic Hero—The Second Stage

THE BACKGROUND OF PERSONALITY.

Byron returned from his restless exile. The success of his "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage" mollified his bitter spirit. More gratifying to him was his social triumph. He was now the centre of social life and received the homage of the world. The old romantic glamour returned. The distant realms through which he had passed—those "Edens of the eastern wave," those islands laughing in the tropical sun—they enthralled him again. The land

> "..............where the cypress and myrtle
> Are emblems of deeds that are done in their prime......
> Where the rage of the vulture and the love of the turtle
> Now melt into sorrow, now madden into crime"

always hovered before his imagination. Its proud and passionate inhabitants were now enveloped in a radiance all their own.

Sometimes it is a lonely island where the sea

> "Reflects the tints of many a peak
> Caught by the laughing tides."

The rose is there and

> "Unbent by winds, unchill'd by snows,
> Far from the winters of the west,
> By every breeze and season blest,
> Returns the sweets by nature given
> In softest incense back to heaven."

Or again, it is the gorgeous presence-chamber where sits the proud Sultan, "begirt by many a gallant slave," casting his baleful glance on the cowering multitude. The romantic grotto is also there—a grotto hewn by nature and frequented by a veiled maid of the Harem. She comes there to tune her mildly-warbling lute and con apart her Holy Quoran. The calm stillness of midnight is often broken by the appearance of the love-lorn maiden. Wrapt in the darkest sable suit, she hastes along to join her lover, "threading the thicket with cautious steps" and

> "Starting oft, as through the glade
> The gust its hollow moanings made."

The meeting of lovers in a "romantic isle;" the din of battle when two armies join in conflict; the mysterious personalities of the wanderer and his page; the calm moonlit night, the desolate landscape and a damsel gliding wraith-like through the ruins—such incidents and situations have, for the poet, a significance which they never had before. It is only natural that the Byronic hero should be coloured by this glamour of romance which was reasserting its influence on the mind of the poet.

GIAOUR.

The shades of evening have just fallen on an eastern landscape. The crescent moon glimmers on the hills. The lamps of the mosque quiver in the distance. From the minarets come floating "flashes of the joyous peal" wafted by the breeze. All on a sudden a sharp clatter of hoofs breaks the solitude and, mounted on a magnificent charger, stands Giaour silhouetted against the eastern sky. He casts a bitter look of hatred around ; his

" .... sallow front
Is scathed by fiery passions brunt."

On his countenance are traced the contending passions of his heart. "Winters of memory" seem to roll over his soul, and, after a moment's hesitation, he speeds away pursued by his thoughts. The scene changes. It is now a monastery. The Giaour is there, clad in monkish hood and monkish cowl. But his countenance is marred by a "dark and unearthly scowl" and the flash of his dilating eye "reveals too much of times gone by." His "pale lips curl and quiver" and his smile "mocks at misery." His "livid cheek," his "stony air of mixed defiance and despair" grow more sombre as

" .... the harmony
Peals louder praises to the sky."

((He, like his creator, is a victim of love, not the love of the cold icy north but the burning passion of oriental races.))

" If changing cheek and scorching vein,
If bursting heart and madd'ning brain,
And daring deed and vengeful steel"

betoken love then that love is his. He moves in an atmosphere of romantic lyricism. ((His love is a

" .... light from heaven))
A spark of that immortal fire
With angels shared, by Alla given,
To lift from earth our low desire.
....

A feeling from godhead caught,
To wean from self each sordid thought;
A ray of him who formed the whole;
A glory circling round the soul."

Strength of passion, despair, vengeance and bitter memories just touched by a fleeting note of romance—such is the character of the Giaour.

LARA.

Closer to the personality of Byron was Lara,

" Left by his sire, too young such loss to know
Lord of himself,—that heritage of woe,
……………………………………………
With none to check, and few to point in time
The thousand paths that slope the way to crime,"
" In youth all action and all life
Burning for pleasure, not averse from strife,"

he had tasted all the joys and the sorrows of a hectic life. The tempest of his heart and the raptures of his joy had dwarfed "the storms of the sea" and "the glories of the firmament." He left home to wander in "distant lands unknown." There he suddenly woke to find his spirit weary of the world. His heart was withered but it would not break. Thus disillusioned he returned, a thoroughly changed man—

" The pride, but not the fire, of early days,
Coldness of mien, and carelessness of praise;
A high demeanour, and a glance that took
Their thoughts from others by a single look;
And that sarcastic levity of tongue,
The stinging of a heart the world hath stung,"

were all his. He enveloped himself in a cloud of mystery; he posed that he had passed through experiences he could never reveal.

SELIM.

Sharply differentiated from Giaour and Lara stands Selim the son Giaffir. He might resent the sarcasms of the old Pasha; "glances ev'n of more than ire" might flash from his eyes; yet we miss in him the stern spirit of vengeance which characterises the Giaour. On the contrary, "pale, mute and mournfully sedate" his entire being is wrapt up in the beloved. His love is not, however, the burning passion which drives the Giaour to bloodshed and crime. It is the soft romantic emotion of a poetic soul. Zuleika is

"The rainbow to the storms of life
The evening beam that smiles the clouds away
And tints tomorrow with a prophetic ray."

Her voice is "soft as the melody of youthful days" and "dear as his native songs to exile's ears." Her very presence makes him see the romantic visions of youth. He will build for her a bower blooming as Eden in the days of man's pristine innocence. His followers will bring the spoil of nations to decorate his bride. He will pass through dangers and perils simply to win her fond caress. Fortune may frown, friends may betray but the dream of finding her faithful in the midst of the adversities of life upholds him. Love transforms his entire personality. He is, no longer, "pale, mute and mournfully sedate." The buoyancy of youth returns to him and he pictures his future life in the roseate colours of hope. No danger can any longer daunt him for his heart is at rest. All toils are now sweet and each clime has its own charms.

"Ay! let the loud winds whistle o'er the deck
So that these arms cling closer to my neck
The deepest murmur of this lip shall be,
No sigh for safety, but a prayer for thee!"

CONRAD.

Tempestuous passions and romantic emotions blend together in the personality of Conrad, the Corsair. He mingled with his followers only to command. His very name appalled the fiercest of his crew: he dazzled, led and yet chilled their vulgar hearts. His stern glance and searching eye forbade closer acquaintance. The voice of wrath was to him "a sacred call to pay the injuries of some on all."

"Lone, wild, and strange he stood alike exempt
From all affection and from all contempt."

He was touched by cynicism. There was a laughing devil in his sneer. He might himself be a villain but

"..................he deem'd
The rest no better than the thing he seem'd ;
And scorned the best as hypocrites who hid
Those deeds the bolder spirits plainly did.
He knew himself detested, but he knew
The hearts that loathed him, crouch'd and dreaded too."

In the midst, however, of these tempestuous passions of his heart, there was one softer feeling which seemed to redeem a thousand faults. He might hate mankind ; he might be stern and haughty to his followers; but there was at least one before whom his heart melted into tenderness—

" Yes !—it was Love—if thoughts of tenderness,
Tried in temptation, strengthen'd by distress,
Unmoved by absence, firm in every clime,
And yet—oh more than all—untired by time ;—
....
If there be love in mortals—this was love !"

No disappointment in life could make him sullen when his beloved was near. He might be stern and haughty to others but his heart sank when he bade farewell to her. With the beauteous form of his beloved in his arms, her long hair covering him as with a veil Conrad appeared like a knight of the days of chivalry. And then, overwhelmed with grief, he

" One moment gazed, as if to gaze no more ;
Felt that for him earth held but her alone,
Kissed her forehead "

and hastily departed. She was, indeed—

" The dim and melancholy star,
Whose ray of beauty reached him from afar."

And it is with an effort that the Corsair "sternly gathered all his might of mind " reminding himself that a chief "might melt but not betray to woman's grief." In his captivity the only thought which moved him was that of Medora

"Then, only then, his clanking hands he raised,
And strained with rage the chain on which he gazed."

He was chivalrous like a knight of the middle ages. In the silence of midnight Gulnare approached him, all alone. Full of love and admiration for his splendid personality she offered him freedom. Conscious though Conrad was of the terrible hardships through which he would have to pass, he refused the offer with the significant question—

"Unfit to vanquish, shall I meanly fly
The one of my band who would not die?"

In spite of the terrible suspense of his prison life his spirit could not be broken. The incitements of Gulnare to assassinate the Seyd he sternly resisted. The Seyd might be this enemy; he might have swept Conrad's followers away from the mainland in open fight but he had never conspired against the Corsair. How could the Corsair, then, use the secret knife against such an enemy? Proudly did he remind Gulnare "who spares a woman's, seeks not slumber's life" The Seyd was assassinated. Gulnare came to him, her hand reeking with the blood of the murdered man. Conrad's very attitude plainly showed in what utter contempt he held her and she recoiled from his "freezing aspect and averted air."

The death of Medora stunned him.

"He turned not—spoke not—sunk not—fixed his look,
And set the anxious frame that lately shook."

For "The love of youth, the hope of better years
The source of softest wishes, tenderest fears,
The only loving thing, he could not hate,
Was reft at once."

ALPH.

Alph was a lone wanderer from his own city. Wrongly accused of crimes he had never committed, he fled for life and thenceforward

Alph the memory of a thousand wrongs urged him on to vengeance. With the zeal of a new convert he directed the army of the Ottomite in relentless strife against Corinth, his birthplace. He now "battled to avenge or die." "A false and fatal zeal" changed his character from "soft to stern." He could not, however, forget the past. His mind was torn by contending emotions. His pulse "the quick successive throbs convulsed." He looked upon the brave defenders who had sacrificed their lives in the defence of their (and his) beloved city and he thought within himself,

"They fell devoted, but undying;
The very gale their name seem'd sighing;
The waters murmured their name;
The woods were peopled with their fame."

Restless and troubled with thoughts, he went out of his tent and, in a musing dreamy mood sat reclined against the pillar of a ruined temple.

"His head was drooping on his breast
Fever'd, throbbing and oppressed."

Like Conrad and Selim his whole personality was wrapped up in the beloved. When she appeared, pale and wan, in the midst of the solitude of midnight he felt a thrill passing into his heart. Her very lightest touch

"Thrill'd to the bone
And shot a chillness to his heart
Which fix'd him beyond the power to start."
"The feverish glow of his brow was gone
And his heart sank so still that he felt like stone."

Her moving appeal impressed him deeply but

"......his heart was swoll'n and turned aside
By deep interminable Pride."

He could never forget his vow of revenge. The wild words of a timid maid could no longer dismay him. He was not a "changeling." He could not bow to the storm and rise again. On the contrary, he must feel its full burnt and then either live or die. He was, therefore, in the vanguard of the Turkish soldiers who assaulted the walls and towers of the city. Bravely he led them on till he arrived at the place where Minnotti and his handful followers were vainly trying to stem the tide of invasion. He was generous enough to offer quarter to a noble enemy. The contemptuous way in which his offer was rejected, the bitter denunciations of the old general, the knowledge of the death of his beloved, Francesca—all combined to overwhelm him and he died fighting like a brave man.

THREE TYPES OF THE BYRONIC HERO IN THE VERSE-TALES.

The verse-tales of Byron mark a transition period in his life. In them we find a peculiar development in the poet's conception of his hero. The Giaour and Lara carry on the tradition of Childe Harold. They are Childe Harold's, a little cynical, a little hard-hearted. Harold's disgust is changed into hatred, his world-weariness into a spirit of revenge. Vengeance lights up with a sombre glare, as it were, the dark recesses of their heart and their wild gesticulations against the world are in perfect contrast with the dignified silence of Harold. A tinge of cynicism, a sarcastic levity of tongue are also theirs. We have in them a foretaste of the sardonic laughter of Don Juan. Far more romantic and less passionate is Selim. There are in his character an element of poetry and a hint of self-abandon which sharply differentiate him from Lara and the Giaour. Midway between these two extremes are Conrad and Alph. We find in them the passions of Lara on the one hand and the romance and poetry of Selim on the other. Byron was now passing through a complex mood and that mood in its different aspects finds its expression in the different Byronic heroes.

(*To be continued.*)

Excepting that there are too many
quotations, the article seems to be
an excellent one. What will strike one
in this article is A.C. Sen's perfect
command of English. His style is so
potent, picturesque and well-knit.

STORM

VIOLA IRENE COOPER

New York.

I smash objects
Because I would pull the house
Down about me,
That I may escape, unfettered,
Free;
Peacefully
To be,
Nonentity.

LOSS

VIOLA IRENE COOPER

New York.

I am no longer Myself.
How can I be,
When you,— once a part of me
In poetry and song,—
Are gone ?

To whom do you give your smile ?
Into what dim recess of life
Are you pouring forth your dream ?
Upon whom do you bestow
Your blessing ?

Day after day, I think of the past ;
The wicked cruelty, wanton misunderstanding,
Of deliberate effort to ruin the beautiful,
Because, like the grasses of Tu Fu,
The weeds of your sincerity were choking,
And threatening to shut out the grain
Of my materiality.

Now, nothing is right
Since you are no longer of me.
You could not bear to have an ememy.
But I have the one I created
When, dealing a death-blow to love,
I forbade your sighing to the wind
Beneath the window in the dawn.

Must we continue this way?
Is there no chance for enemy
To become friend again,
In communion rendering Lu Chih
And Mo Pang?

Chi Hwang, you seemed to be
Destined for great deeds.
I wonder if they are coming to pass?
Shall I hear from you
No more?

THE MORTUARY BELIEFS OF THE HINDUS

H. D. BHATTACHARYYĀ.
Dacca University,

IN every religion are to be found certain elements that are based on an interpretation of experience, certain other elements that draw their inspiration from imagination, wish and hope, and certain other elements still that are mere survivals of primitive belief. So long as religion remains on a level lower than that of philosophy, a certain amount of faith clings to each of these classes of elements and reflection mostly takes the form of rationalisation or justification of the faith attitude by arguments which indeed satisfy the thinkers themselves or persons brought up in the same religious tradition but which do not convince impartial critics. Not unoften, however, contradictory elements of belief are entertained together and no attempt is made to harmonise them or to trace their historical evolution or to hold fast to the one that is most rational and to reject the rest. The survival of discordant elements is due to the fact that while in philosophical speculation there are no sacrosanct items that must be defended and retained at all costs, in religion sacred tradition invests even temporary beliefs and acts with an air of inviolability, and, in so far as these relate to unseen matters, none can effectively oust the others from the social mind. In supersensuous matters no definiteness of position is attainable and the limits of probability are set not by reason but by imagination. This is why agreement is so difficult to achieve in matters withdrawn from experience and not subject to empirical verification. Plato used the device of the myth when he was personally convinced of the truth of any particular view but could not defend it by Dialectic; in this he both followed and anticipated the practice of religion where also details are set forth without any pretence of rational justification and sometimes without any reference to their mutual compatibility. Not that these details have no foundation of any kind in the human mind and are merely wild fancies or mad ravings; but their justification is emotional rather than rational and in so far as each satisfies a particular emotion it persists in social thought irrespective of its relevancy to other items of belief on the same subject. We shall illustrate our observation by reference to the social belief about and attitude towards the departed in the Brahmanical religion (particularly of Bengal).

Let us trace the fate of an individual from the point of death onwards to find out the conflicting elements that have entered into the theory of the departed soul. In spite of the Karma doctrine, according to which the destiny of a soul is determined by its moral worth (or worthlessness), it is held that the time and place of death as also the manner of dying have an important bearing upon the subsequent fate of the departed soul. Death at an inauspicious moment is sure to affect adversely the spirit of the departed and turn it into a restless ghost, the degree of misfortune, ranging from a quarter to the full amount, depending upon the nature of the inauspicious moment. It is necessary to perform expiatory rites to benefit the soul of the unfortunate dead so that he may not roam about in agony and distress. Here we have an influence of the star-cult according to which human events are determined by the position of the stars and the baneful influence of particular constellations can be counteracted by appropriate ceremonies.

Similarly, the location of death also affects the fate of the dead. Like the Parsis, orthodox Hindus will not permit death to occur on any movable raised structure. The dying will be placed on the floor not only because death in bed will make the furniture and bedstead unclean and unusable but also because it would entail the loss of a desirable position hereafter—possibly the departed soul will be condemned to an intermediate region like Triśaṅku who could not either attain heaven or come down to earth. In fact, the orthodox prescription is that the dying man should be laid on the bosom of Mother Earth and preferably near a sacred spot as, for example, under the sacred basil tree. There are, again, certain public sacred places where death is most desirable. Death at Benares within the sacred limits (*pañca-krośī Kāśī*) is the one supreme desire of the faithful and there are also other sacred spots for the different sects of Hinduism. The Ganges is the dispenser of spiritual benefit not only to those who bathe in its waters but also to those who die on its banks (at Benares, only on the Benares side but not on the opposite bank) or with the body touching its waters. It is difficult to understand the psychology underlying this belief; possibly the sacred association of certain areas and objects is responsible for the view that death in contact with any of them would ensure a participation in the merits of the saints, who had graced them with their holy presence and contact, or would secure the blessings of the presiding deity of the sacred locality. Whether accidental death in a sacred spot can benefit a soul, without reference to merit or devotion, is extremely doubtful; but pilgrimage to sacred places and death therein would cease to be desired if there is not a lurking faith that proximity to a god at the moment of death is the surest way of attaining his realm after death. If the sins of a life-time could be so easily expiated—and it must be remembered that the sacred influence operates upon the devout and the profane alike according to popular belief—then morality would lose much of its imperative character in relation to the future life.

The same remark applies to the manner of death. Unnatural death, whether self-caused or accidental, is supposed to beget an undesirable existence after death; and the many popular ghost-stories thrive upon this belief. The social disapproval of suicide may have been responsible for threatening with a bad fate persons intending to end their own lives prematurely. But here also exceptions were once made in favour of saintly individuals who could commit religious suicide to quicken their exit out of the world, of grave sinners who could voluntarily burn themselves to death in husk-fire (*tuṣānala*) to expiate their sins, of devoted wives who could burn themselves on their husbands' funeral pyres, and of Kṣatriyas who could fall fighting in battle. The unfavourable attitude towards unnatural death is reflected in the belief that violent death begets a bad end, whether such death is caused by men, animals or inanimate objects: sometimes it would be regarded as a visible sign of divine displeasure and treated as a punishment for some known or unknown sin, committed in the present or a previous life. Thus, it is not only sinful to kill—it is equally sinful to be killed: this will explain why India is averse to warfare and why she fell an easy prey to those who believed in the opposite doctrine that to kill an infidel and to be killed in a fight with him equally brought the soldier of God to heaven. Among those who still retain a martial tradition there would be found a belief that death and murder on a battle-field produce no sin; but some of these would refuse to take animal food under the belief that peace-time killing is sinful even though the victim is only an animal. Conversely, some would condone ceremonial slaughter of animals before an image of Kālī and would take consecrated animal flesh, although they would refuse to kill animals elsewhere or take any other kind of meat. The practice of killing a human victim or committing suicide before an image was at one time looked upon as highly meritorious. But this item of Śakti cult is no longer practised.

Perhaps the belief that the sacred fire should not be polluted by impure contact is responsible for the theory that a person suffering from a loathsome disease like leprosy or tuberculosis must perform an expiatory ceremony (*e.g.*, cāndrāyaṇa) before death or a purificatory ceremony must be performed upon his dead body. When even bleeding of any kind renders the body impure for ceremonial purposes and when a dead body has to be ceremoniously consigned to the flames, the interdiction of the cremation of an unhallowed corpse is easily understood ; but the difficulty is that only physical uncleanliness demands this expiatory ceremony, whatever might be the moral status of the individual concerned, and persons cremating an unhallowed corpse themselves become impure and stand in need of purification themselves. This idea of the purity of the corpse is at the root of the prohibition against the pollution of the dead body of a higher caste by the touch of a lower caste or by that of a person belonging to another religion. The disinclination of a high-caste Hindu to use the hospital in case of dangerous illness proceeds from a fear that should death occur there the body would be defiled by impure touch with the consequent risk of a bad after-life. And no one would like to contemplate the possibility of his body being burnt in the same funeral pyre with any other body unless it be that of the wife (and this is also true of those who bury their dead instead of burning them).

Whatever might have been the earliest Indo-Aryan mode of disposal of the dead, cremation is now the only legitimate way of sending the body back to the five elements except in the case of infants below a certain age and of sannyāsins. As in the West, the want of a proper disposal of the dead body is supposed to have an adverse effect upon the departed spirit although there was no such belief in Vedic times. We know how in the West traitors and rebels were refused burial or at least burial within consecrated grounds ; similarly, in India the absence of cremation is viewed with disfavour and even dismay, and when real bodies are for any reason not available effigies made of the sacred grass (*kuśaputtalikā*) would be burnt in their place. In a hot country like India decomposition sets in very early ; hence an early disposal of the dead body is advised—so much so that the orthodox method is to burn the body before sunset if death has taken place by day and before sunrise if it has taken place at night. But a primitive belief survives in the shape of a theory that the departed spirit hovers round about the dead body and attempts to return thereto and hence it is necessary that it should be burnt off without delay. As children do not develop fondness for their bodies and ascetics outgrow it, cremation need not be practised in their cases—they are, therefore, buried: it is not unlikely, however, that here we have a survival of the earlier Indo-Aryan form of disposal of dead bodies by burial. But when cremation has to be practised, precaution is taken to prevent the departed soul from returning ; it is customary in some localities to mount guard on dead bodies by actual contact therewith and also to carry iron in some form on the body when touching the corpse possibly as a personal precaution against ghostly possession. The philosophy of cremation comes out when it is ordained that the nearest relative should apply fire to the face of the dead (*mukhāgni*) and set the funeral pyre ablaze. This would teach him to realise that the mortal body does not command love but the soul within—that, to imitate Yājñavalkya's words to Maitreyī, it is for the sake of the indwelling soul that the body is dear and that when that soul departs the body ceases to be an object of interest and affection.

There is little doubt that the well-known theory of the two paths owes its origin to the custom of cremation. If the wood used was damp, as was probably the rule, the cremation must have been troublesome and this might have suggested the idea that the departed wanted to cling to corporeal existence. So the path of smoke was identified with the way of rebirth. On the other hand, if the fuel was dry and the body burned off rapidly, as was probably the exception, the departed spirit was supposed to have outgrown the love of embodied existence. So the path of fire was identified with the way of release. These two paths were respectively known as Pitṛyāna and Devayāna—the way of the fathers and the way of the gods, although, as Keith's resumé of the relevant passages on the subject in *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* (Vol. 2, Ch. 28, Sec. 10) shows, speculation on them was not uniform and not only were the fathers invested with some divine attributes but originally there was no idea that the departed returned to this earth after once being with the fathers. But whatever might have been the earlier views on the subject, later speculation reserved the passage through dark things for a transmigrating soul and looked upon the moon as its temporary destination, whence, after the fruits of merit had been enjoyed, the soul returned to this earth for re-embodiment. The released soul was regarded, on the other hand, as passing through bright things to a final destination which was either the sun or Brahman or Kṛṣṇa according to the literature of different times. Popular memory has not, however, retained any clear idea of these paths and has simply contented itself with the knowledge that the majority of those who die are destined to be reborn and a very small few to be released and that somehow the waxing and waning of the moon are connected with the enjoyment of the gods and possibly also of the fathers, the belief originating in the double meaning of the word Soma (*viz.*, the sacrificial drink and the moon).

There are other elements of cremation beliefs well worth mentioning. The practice of *Suttee* has now disappeared through legislative measures and was never universally practised. The custom, though given an esoteric meaning in later literature, was certainly a survival of an almost universal belief of primitive times that the dead required the things of this world in the next world for enjoyment. The monumental example of this belief is the Egyptian Pyramid wherein kings and nobles were interred with articles of use and luxury for enjoyment in their grave or in their post-mortem existence. The discovery of implements of hunting in primitive graves tells the same tale and there is no reason to think that the Hindu belief was differently derived. If the law of Karma be strictly interpreted, it cannot be believed that the husband and the wife always deserve the same hereafter and that by simply dying together they go to the same realm after death. There is a curious Indian theory that the last thought of a dying man determines his future destiny: this belief is more or less akin to that theory and is based upon the conviction that a man gets in the other world what he is burned (or buried) with. Possibly some such belief is at the root of the custom of throwing some precious metals (generally gold) and stones into the funeral pyre; or the custom may, like that of providing some *cowries* (shells), owe its origin to the idea that the departed would need some money to pay the ferryman of the Stygian waters (the Vaitaraṇī) just as in Egypt the dead were provided with suitable texts to answer the different sentinels of the other world in order to have an uninterrupted progress to the blessed abode.

Cutting across the belief in the sole efficacy of cremation, there is the other belief that the bones of the dead are not to remain exposed after cremation but to be diligently collected (originally after a few days but now after cremation), and either buried (originally at the root of a tree) or thrown into some pool or stream. The ashes are also sometimes treated in a similar fashion, especially when bones are not available ; but the general prescription is to wash the area of the burnt pyre clean with water (the practice going back to Vedic times), each member of the burning party (beginning with the nearest of kin) helping to extinguish the fire and to wash and cool the place. It is extremely probable that all these are vestigial remnants of the custom of burial once widely practised and that the idea behind the collection of bones is that the dead should not be raised to life in the next world (as was probably one type of Vedic belief) with any bones missing. We know that in the Vedas heaven was conceived in a fairly material fashion and that to the blessed dead all sorts of material enjoyment were promised. No wonder, therefore, that the departed soul was expected to recover its discarded body elsewhere if it was to enjoy itself properly. Possibly the theory that the soul is of the size of a thumb (the dwarf seated within the body-chariot) and is extracted at death by Yama is a compromise between a purely material conception and a purely spiritual conception of the soul and served at a later time to suggest a medium of transmigration, the *liṅgaśarīra,* which is composed of both spiritual and finer material elements.

What exactly takes place at death was naturally a matter of some curiosity. Before the rise of the Tantric theory of the Ṣatcakra, according to which the progress of the spirit consists in the opening of the thousand-petalled lotus within the cranium, and before the philosophical theories of the space within the hear and the light within the head as the ideal objects of meditation had established themselves, the idea suggested itself that the soul escaped through the skull as being the seat of the most noble spiritual functions. A survival of that belief is the pressing tight of the toes at the time of death lest the soul should make a downward journey through the body and, instead of ascending to the higher realms of enjoyment, descend into the lower regions of suffering. The belief that the good hereafter is enjoyed somewhere in the region of light above while the bad one is enjoyed within the dark depths of the subterranean region below is so widespread that this particular item of Hindu belief need cause no surprise. As a matter of fact, throughout the history of speculation on this subject in India there is an oscillation between the view that the dead become like unto gods and mount up to the region of light and the view that they are near at hand, possibly in the bowels of the earth. From very early times however, the gods proper and the deified ancestors have been approached with different modes of worship—the time, the materials, the method of invocation, the *mantras* used, the mode of pouring oblations and reaching other offerings, the medium of offering and even the direction faced are all different in the invocation to the dead from what they are in the invocation to the gods. In fact, the gulf between the gods and the departed has widened in course of time ; for whereas in Vedic thought the two classes were closely associated, in later speculation they tended to diverge and the fate of the departed became definitely worse. The departed could, in fact, attain in later times many other conditions than the virtual godhood of Vedic times.

An instructive example of the changed belief about the fate of the departed soul is the gradual deterioration in the status of Yama, the mythical being who appears both in the Veda and the Avesta as connected with death, being the first to die and becoming in consequence the king of the realm of the dead. In the Rigveda he possesses the highest heaven which is the abode of the sun (whence probably his sonship of Vivasvat in both the Rigveda and the Avesta) and the departed soul is supposed to meet the Fathers in his realm and to dwell with him there (and for ever, if the gods consent). Yama is mentioned in the same breath, in fact, with Indra, Varuṇa, Agni, Mātariśvan, Soma, Bṛhaspati and other major gods of the Vedic pantheon. But soon he becomes identified with Death which ends and dissolves all beings and also assumes the rôle of a judge of the merits and demerits of the dead. His four-eyed dogs, past which the souls were originally enjoined to haste on their way to the Fathers with Yama, were looked upon as his messengers and were probably his assistants in the sorting out of the good and bad souls just as their earthly prototypes distinguish friends and strangers. The dissociation of the realm of the Fathers and that of the gods and also of their paths led to the location of the former far away from the gods—sometimes they and their king Yama were placed in the underworld and at other times they were placed somewhere in the South (or south-east) as contrasted with the northern (or north-eastern) location of the gods. This last conception of the location of the Fathers and the gods explains why in ceremonies connected with the dead, *e.g.*, setting fire to the funeral pyre, śrāddha, etc.. the south has to be faced (and even the sacred thread has to be hung from the right shoulder and not from the left as is usual in connection with the worship of the gods) while in the invocation of the gods the worshipper must face north (and sometimes east, whence the sun rises). From the position of the judge who weighs the actions of departed souls Yama descended to the position of a jailor when in some later Paurānic accounts his emissaries (Yamadūta) were depicted as leading the souls of the vicious alone for punishment while the messengers of the Supreme God (Śivadūta or Viṣṇudūta) were regarded as leading the souls of the virtuous devotees to the realm of their adored deity (*iṣṭadevatā*)—to Śivaloka or Viṣṇuloka, for instance, after driving away the emissaries of Yama who had come to claim the dead. But the general belief still is that Yama is *dharmarāja*, the lord of righteousness, that in his Book of Life are recorded by Citragupta, his Kāyastha Secretary or Clerk, both the good and the evil deeds of every individual and that it is after he has pronounced judgment that the soul is led away to the place of enjoyment or suffering which it has deserved on the total results of its last earthly embodiment. The enlightened soul is supposed to get its release immediately after death without having to attend Yama's court of enquiry. In order to harmonise the theories of rebirth and moral justice—the former advocating a return to life in the absence of enlightenment and the latter advocating enjoyment and punishment for the merits and demerits of the past life—the theory had to be advanced that the departed soul has to be reborn in heaven and hell (as a *deva* or a *nārakin*) and there enjoy or suffer for a stated period before being reborn on earth in one of the many forms of living beings, the virtuous descending from heaven in the form of a shooting star. Perhaps the necessity of the case demands that the punishment for misdeed should be more vividly brought home than the enjoyment for good deed done here below. This explains the more detailed description of the varieties of horrible suffering in hell for different sins as contrasted with the general description of the pleasures of heaven. That like Naciketas one could physically go to Yama's abode and find him absent from home or that, like Yudhiṣṭhira and his wife and brothers, one could hope to reach heaven on foot is no longer an article of religious belief, just as it is no longer believed that the gods, being sore pressed by the *asuras*, seek the aid of human warriors who physically ascend to heaven and come back to earth again to live out their normal span of life or that a god and a mortal could fall in love with each other and beget children.

But cremation does not effect a complete separation of soul and body—this can be achieved only by enlightenment. The gross body perishes no doubt, but a fine material assemblage still clings to the soul and carries it to its next embodiment as determined by the merits and demerits of the previous life. This *liṅgaśarīra* or *ātivāhikadeha*, presumably escapes from the body at the time of death and is admittedly invisible. It does not, therefore, lend itself to any kind of photography, as modern spiritualists believe, nor does it assume the form of a shadowy copy of the dead body and produce phantasms to friends and relatives. In fact, the departed is supposed to be so attenuated at death that regular *piṇḍa*-offerings are necessary to fill up the form and make it fit for joining the Fathers. The *pūraka piṇḍas*, offered once each month for a year, transform a *preta* or departed into a *pitṛ* or father and the *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* ceremony at the end of the year marks the close of the stage of the solitary *preta* who, after the ceremony, is gathered unto the Fathers and becomes an object of supplication. The tabu of impurity clings to the children of the deceased during this period and so within the year of death they cannot marry (unless they be girls about to attain puberty and therefore needing immediate marriage lest the earlier generations should suffer as a consequence of the neglect of the Śāstric injunction to marry off girls before they menstruate for the first time). Sons are also forbidden to take meals cooked by persons not belonging to the same *gotra* or clan during this period.

It is evident that the *preta* condition was looked upon as purely temporary, terminating with the assimilation to the Fathers at the end of a year. The transmigration doctrine has made an inroad here ; for, if the theory demands an immediate embodiment for past actions (as the simile of the leech passing from one stalk to another or of a person discarding a worn-out cloth for a new one would imply), then the departed does not wait for a year to get a proper form for re-embodiment : it cannot be gathered unto the Fathers at any rate, for this is not a re-birth and there is no fresh decease in their realm preparatory to a new descent on earth. When the Fathers are invoked to bless the family with offspring and other desirable goods they are practically equated with gods ; and though it is laid down that they can be kept in vigour and position only by the periodical offering of *piṇḍas* and ensuring its continuity by maintaining the family line intact, yet the idea that successive generations can offer *piṇḍas* to the same ancestors and invoke their blessings rests upon the belief that the Fathers persist and are not reborn here below. Possibly the shortness of human memory is responsible for restricting the offering of *piṇḍas* to three upper generations by individual names ; but, like the All-gods (*viśvedevāḥ*), earlier generations are invoked by the general appellation of 'Fathers,' feasted with offerings on joyous occasions and greeted with appropriate epithets (nāndīmukhāḥ, agniṣvāttāḥ, saumyāḥ, barhiṣadaḥ, haviṣmantaḥ, etc.), and dismissed politely after the ceremony.

It must not be supposed, however, that the attitude towards the dead is one of uniform love or reverence. The long dead generally evoke no fear but the just dead rouse quite a different feeling. Death in the house pollutes all cooked food-stuff, and even after the cremation is over no cooking can be done that day (the Parsis observing the prohibition against cooking for three days) nor can any cooked food be taken. The entire clan observes mourning for certain days, the number depending upon the proximity of the relationship and the caste of the deceased. During the period of mourning the nearest relations must go bare-footed and bare-headed, use a *kuśa* seat and a blanket bed, practise continence, take one simple meal a day and abjure all meat and fish, if they are not vegetarians, till, after the Śrāddha ceremony is over, the kinsmen have been invited to a special feast in which fish would be served. The mourners who follow the dead body to the cremation ground are expected not only to purify themselves by washing immediately after the cremation is over but also to touch purifying objects like fire, iron, margosa leaf (*nimba*) and some cereal at the house of the dead and then to return to their own homes. The person applying the fire to the pyre discards the cloth he wears at the time of cremating the body. The nearest relations do not shave or pare their nails during the period of mourning or ceremonial uncleanliness (*aśauca*) and get shaved by a barber (the descendants shaving also the head) on the day prior to the Śrāddha day. After the cremation has been finished and the last mourner has poured his pitcherful of water on the mouldering pyre, the chief mourner places the earthen pitcher on the spot with a few *cowries* in an earthen dish at its top and, turning away from it, breaks it with a piece of stone (or brickbat) and proceeds homeward, none looking back at the spot again. Now, many of these practices have come down from Vedic times and unmistakably betray a solicitude that the dead should not pursue the living or injure them in any way through some kind of impure contact. They are mere survivals of primitive death-tabus, of which parallels can be easily found in other lands ; in fact, originally the road, by which the dead body was carried, was carefully swept in order to frustrate the attempt of the departed spirit to find its way back to its last home.

Possibly out of this element of fear arose the later belief that the *preta* would, through some formal or material lapse, fail to join the Fathers and wander about as a restless ghost. It has been pointed out that although the Vedas know of different types of unholy spirits and of elfish beings, they do not overtly teach that dead men become ghosts and torment the world of the living. In view of the fact that Buddhism believed in their existence (and, in fact, composed a book on the subject of *preta* in the sense of ghosts) and prescribed methods of redeeming them by gifts to monasteries and holy persons, we may suppose that the theory was worked up under the influence of popular belief (the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad talks of possession by a *gandharva* but not by a ghost) and made part of a modified Karma doctrine according to which posterity could benefit a soul in distress by meritorious work done specifically for the purpose of supplementing the moral worth of departed persons. The *pretas*, when they become ghosts, move in the terrestrial plane and seek opportunities to apprise the world of their existence—sometimes as *poltergeists*, sometimes as apparitions, sometimes through possessions and at other times through dreams. There is a difference between punishment in hell and agony in the ghostly condition: the former is due to sinful acts of the individual concerned while the latter is generally attributed to some formal default in the manner of death—a suicide, a murdered person, an unhallowed corpse would, for instance, become a ghost as also one dying at an inauspicious moment. Again, one reborn in hell has to expiate his sins without any hope of aid from posterity, for the regular *piṇḍa*-offerings reach him only as food in the form in which he is able to take it and do not serve to mitigate the amount or shorten the period of suffering. But a ghost can be assisted to get rid of his agonising form of existence by means of *piṇḍa* at Gayā. As a matter of fact, not only is *piṇḍa* offered there to redeem troubled souls that roam restlessly about as ghosts—and that can be done by any person for the benefit of any ghost, whether of a relation or of a total stranger—but it is also enjoined as a filial duty upon every son that he should offer *piṇḍa* to his parents after the *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* ceremony at the end of the year of their death. It is not supposed that the *piṇḍa* at Gayā saves the soul in the sense of giving it final release (*mokṣa*) but it is deemed to release it from a *preta* condition, whether known or unknown, and is thus precautionary in its significance in some cases. The belief that if the *piṇḍa* offered at Gayā is partaken of by crows or if crows appear at the end of the offering, then the ceremony has been successful possibly harks back to the Vedic idea that the Fathers may take the form of birds. The theory of the efficacy of *piṇḍas* was so well established in social belief in later times that succession to property was made dependent on the right of offering *piṇḍas* (*piṇḍaṃ dattvā dhanaṃ haret*) and even the birth of a son (or the adoption of a son) was supposed to avert descent into the hell called *Put* (whence a son is called *puttra*, one who saves from *Put*). Popular belief has gone so far as to assert that a descendant could save millions of ancestors by simply bathing in a sacred stream (*e.g.*, the Ganges) on certain auspicious occasions (*e.g.*, Ardhodayayoga). But the fact that even thereafter the usual *piṇḍa*-offerings would be made and the annual *tarpaṇa* (libation of water with sesame seed) would be performed, shows the logical inconsistency of the popular attitude towards the dead.

We may very well suppose that the Śrāddha ceremony is an amalgam of divine worship, filial duty and transference of merit. As the term signifies, it is primarily an expression of faith and filial respect (*śraddhā*) towards the departed ancestor. The expression of gratitude and affection is permeated by the belief that the ancestor somehow retains his personal identity even after death and is able to enjoy the offerings—in fact, he can be kept in vigour and ease only by such offerings, and curses or blesses his descendants according as the periodical *piṇḍa*-offerings are withheld or offered in time. It is indeed laid down that the dead attain the merit of their *iṣṭāpūrta* (sacrifices and gifts) and require sustenance from posterity in inverse ratio to personal merit, but it is not suggested that they could do without the offerings of their descendants. The filiation to divine worship comes out in the belief that the departed ancestors could be worshipped along with, and even without, the gods, that they could actively help their descendants in the shape of increasing the family and the food-supply, killing enemies and conferring similar boons in lieu of periodical offerings received. How the Fathers could persist and yet be reborn does not trouble the popular mind nor why they could help posterity with food-supply and yet not themselves (and the same objection holds against the principle of sacrificing to the gods who, in lieu of oblations received, confer benefit on men): the two ideas are kept in logic-tight compartments and express in fact different beliefs altogether. The matter is further complicated by the idea that posterity could benefit a departed soul by performing works of merit on its behalf. The practice of distributing coins when carrying the corpse to the cremation ground and gifts to the poor and to Brāhmaṇas at the time of the various *Śrāddhas* can have but one meaning, namely, that the departed soul would get the benefit of the charity practised on those occasions. Works of public utility could be similarly dedicated to the gods with the object of securing for one's ancestors eternal heaven (*akṣayasvargakāma*). In his solicitude for the good of the departed soul the living generation does not care very much for logical consistency.

The whole system of funerary and mortuary beliefs has developed on non-philosophical lines and the belief that by devotion, works or knowledge one could annul one's individuality and be one with Brahman is singularly absent from these beliefs (in spite of the fact that into the ears of a dying person would be muttered *ante gangā nārāyaṇo brahma*). Perhaps the nearest approximation to this belief in the needlessness of helping departed souls is made when ascetics, who have renounced the world, are not offered the usual oblations and *piṇḍas* as being unnecessary for those who have obtained release from rebirth through personal enlightenment; but even here there is some vacillation, for oblation to the *ṛṣis* is a prescribed rite under the *tarpaṇa* ceremony.

I have suggested in my paper on *The Vicissitudes of the Karma Doctrine* in the *Malaviya Commemoration Volume* that the Karma theory did not have a single origin. The same remark applies to the theory of the dead, for a careful study of the history of the doctrine betrays the multiple attitude of the living towards their dead ancestors. The great mystery of death baffles all human solution and the tales of reminiscence of past lives in certain rare cases only deepen the mystery. Humanity expresses only faith and imagination when dealing with post mortem existence. While there is a pragmatic justification for delineating the joys of heaven and horrors of hell, it would be unwise to hold that these represent any actually known experiences of the departed in spite of all that Psychical Research has professed to disclose. The destiny of the departed is, and would probably ever remain, an unsolved riddle of human knowledge, like many other transcendental issues which the human mind can frame but never decide.

INDIAN STATES AND THE FEDERATION

PROFESSOR GURMUKH NIHAL SINGH
Hindu University, Benares

I

IT has been officially announced that a part of the new constitution will come into force on April 1st, 1937, and that the provinces will become autonomous from that date. But it is not yet definite as to when the so-called Indian Federation—a federation between the Indian States and the British Indian provinces shall come into existence ; because, under the Government of India Act, 1935, the creation of the Indian Federation is contingent upon the execution of Instruments of Accession by Rulers of States entitled to at least 52 seats in the Council of State and having subjects numbering not less than half the total population of the Indian States (*i.e.*, 39,490,256 persons). When this condition is fulfilled, *i. e.*, a sufficient number of States have agreed to join, the two houses of the British Parliament may present an address to His Majesty to issue a Proclamation announcing the creation of the Indian Federation.

It thus rests almost entirely with the Indian States—the poor British Indian provinces have no option or freedom of action—whether the Federation will come into existence in the near future or not. However, it appears from the article recently contributed by Mr. K. M. Pannikar of Patiala to the *Manchester Guardian* and from the visits of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore and his talented Dewan, Mirza Sir M. Ismail to England that the States are anxious to expedite the process of concluding the Instruments of Accession—the careful wordings of which are being settled by the legal *pandits* of the India Office. The ground is also being prepared by the Political Department in India by concluding fresh agreements with the maritime and border states regarding the ticklish question of the customs duties. Taking all these preparations[1] and signs into consideration it is not too risky to hazard the prophecy that a proclamation may be issued in 1939 ushering the Indian Federation into existence.

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[1] See note at the end.

II

Indian States occupied a position of peculiar advantage, which the Rulers of some of the important states and their clever ministers were able to exploit to the fullest extent, during the long period of gestation through which the reforms of 1935 had to pass.

Ever since the time of Lord Lytton and more particularly since the Bengal partition agitation of 1905-06 and subsequent years, *i. e.*, with the growth of the Indian National Movement, the British government has developed the policy of rallying the Princes and of using them as a stabilising factor in Indian politics. In recent years political parties in Britain, more particularly the British die-hards, have been wooing the Princes to serve their purpose. This naturally gave the Princes an opportunity of insisting on certain conditions as a price of their co-operation—and they were able to secure modifications in the scheme of reforms, even after important portions of it had been passed by the House of Commons. British Indian delegates to the first Indian Round Table Conference were also anxious to secure the support of the Princes for their demand of central responsibility to neutralize the tremendous forces working in Britain against them. But perhaps more important than the anxiety of the British Indian delegates and of the British political parties to win the co-operation of the Princes was the fact that the Indian Princes had, with great foresight and statesmanship, utilised the previous few years in studying the whole problem of their future in Indian politics, with expert, legal and constitutional advice, and they had worked out a definite scheme of an all-India constitution on confederate lines, with all the necessary safeguards and conditions to protect their own interests. Even now they are waiting to see the exact wordings of the Instruments of Accession to make up their mind finally as to whether they should negotiate with the British Government for the execution of their individual Instrument or not.

III

The Indian Princes had made it quite clear from the beginning that they were not prepared to enter a full-fledged or true federation with uniform status for all units and similar form of government in them, and with common citizenship and a list of fundamental rights for the people. They were prepared for a loose association—for a confederation rather than a federation—for a few, limited purposes, without any regard to the needs of British Indian provinces for a wider control and regulation. The Princes refused to give any pledge of introducing political and administrative reforms in the States or to restrict their autocracy in any way whatsoever. Even the method of appointing States representatives to the two houses of the federal legislature was to be left to the free decisions of individual rulers of the States. Further, the Princes insisted upon the maintenance of their old rights and privileges—such as those of levying customs duties, both internal and external, maintaining armies, local currencies, state ports and telegraphic systems, etc.—however inconsistent they may be with the conception of federalism. On the other hand, they wanted to secure the abolition of those burdens—such as the payment of tributes—to which they have long been subjected but which are inconsistent with the principles of federalism. Thus the kind of federation that the Indian Princes wanted was of a unique type—*sui generis,* unlike any existing federation—full of anomalies and strange differences between the position of one unit and the other.

It is such a federation as the Princes desired with numerous safeguards to protect British interests added to it—that has been provided for by the Government of India Act, 1935. The British Indian delegates to the first Round Table Conference had proposed the formation of an all-India Federation to secure central responsibility but the extent of responsibility provided in the projected federation is exceedingly small and shadowy. The Indian Princes also had insisted that they would agree to join only if the federation was vested with sufficient independent powers and if the central responsibility were real but they quietly acquiesced on this point although they were loud in complaints about certain other provisions of the Reforms Bill which affected the position of the States. This came as a great eye-opener to those British Indians who had believed in the patriotism and idealism of the Indian Princes. It demonstrated, as nothing else could have done, the selfish nature of the agitation of the Indian Princes and their helplessness against forces of British Imperialism. This latter fact was also brought home to the Princes by their failure to secure the definition and limitation of the powers of paramountcy of the Crown. And, I am afraid, the Rulers of Indian States will not succeed in their endeavours to restrict British interference in the internal affairs of the States until they transform themeslves into constitutional rulers and reform their administration and unless they identify themselves fully with British India, make the federation real and strong and independent of British control—in other words, unless India achieves Dominion Status.

Note.—This article was written before the publication of the Forms of the Instruments of Accession. Since then the States have appointed a Committee of Ministers to examine the Forms and to advise the Princes in regard to their execution. The Viceroy has addressed a circular letter to expedite things and has appointed three officers to help the States in deciding the issues involved in the execution of the Instruments. It is now expected that the Indian Federation may come into being in 1938.

THE CINEMA IN EDUCATION.

SHEKH IFTEKHAR RASOOL.

While it is generally recognised that full advantage has not, so far, been taken of the cinema for educational purposes, few realise the great scope there is in countries like India for films in the curriculum of schools and colleges. In India, for instance, the language difficulty makes educational progress necessarily slow: before boys and girls have the doors of knowledge opened to them in the text-books, they have to pass through a tedious apprenticeship for acquiring efficiency in translating the language in which these text-books are mostly written, namely English, and what makes the problem more difficult for them is the fact that, after years devoted to the study of English, they find that, particularly in scientific books, there are terms for which there are no words in their mother tongue. Knowledge gained in these circumstances is necessarily imperfect, and to gain efficiency in any branch of modern sciences or arts, the Indian student has to spend very laborious days and nights.

Of course, there is no royal road to knowledge even in these days of marvellous discoveries for lightening the labours of mankind, but the laborious days spent by Indian boys and girls in their school days are not directly for the purpose of acquiring the equipment of facts which would constitute their fund of knowledge, but for attaining the means by which they would learn to gather these facts. There is time spent in mastering the mysteries of foreign languages which, if the vernaculars had text-books dealing with modern sciences and art, could be more profitably employed in adding to their score of actual knowledge. However, the vernaculars are ill equipped for the task of accurately conveying modern economic, political or scientific ideas, and cinema films afford a satisfactory solution of the difficulty.

Advantage over Books.

In some ways, films have an undisputable advantage over books, even in cases where the educational subjects dealt with in films can easily be referred to in books. It is not only easier to assimilate knowledge about facts visualised for us than about facts of which we are only told, but the visible record of facts in films is a guarantee of absolute accuracy and exactness unattainable in oral lectures. No educationalist can ignore this great advantage that the film, dealing, say, with the life-history of a potato, possesses over the ordinary method of teaching orally. Even where there is no language problem in existence, and students are taught in their mother tongues, it is impossible to be absolutely sure of the exact meaning conveyed by the written or spoken word. The dangers of misunderstanding are multiplied a hundredfold in cases where the recipient of the facts dealt with in a book or lecture is attaining to gain knowledge through the medium of a language which is not his own, because, no matter how painstaking or conscientious the learner, there must always remain hidden from him the subtle nuances of the foreign language.

Moreover, unfortunately, the written or the spoken word lacks the permanent effect of the visualised fact in a film. Things one has read or heard about are apt to get blurred by the passage of time, but the memory of things seen lingers long after books and lectures are forgotten. While, in acquiring knowledge through a book, one tries to gain impression through cold print, in films, the facts pulsate with life and their memory is imprinted directly upon the mind without the possibility of words clouding their meaning.

Some little progress has been made in the U. S. A. to introduce the film as an improved medium of instruction for educational purposes in all grades, but the experiments recently carried out in England may truthfully be said to represent the first attempt, on a thoroughly organised basis, to ascertain the reactions of instruction through this new method.

The experiments were carried out by the Middlesex Education Committee in conjunction with the National Union of Teachers, who supplied the necessary equipment and the British Movietone, Ltd., and British Instructional Films, Ltd., which two latter companies loaned the films that were used.

The experiment was carried out over a period of three months and several schools participated. A total of 3,061 pupils of both sexes, with ages ranging from 8 to 18 years, took part whilst 187 teachers collaborated in testing results by means of questionnaires, essays, oral examinations and so forth. No less than 22,118 individual tests were conducted.

Sixteen films were used in the experiment and were divided into four groups. Six of these were geographical, four dealt with biology or nature study, whilst the remaining six could be described as films of general interest and were designed to bring the pupils into closer contact with outstanding events and personalities of everyday life. The findings of the Committee responsible for the experiment have been published in the form of a book, and as it contains 120 pages it may be said to be a fully comprehensive report of the results of the experiment.

The Committee agreed that the films used were ideal for school use, as they were all, at some time or other, used as part of an entertainment programme for adults, but even with this material 'the value of the film in education was amply demonstrated.'

In a country like India where boys and girls are compelled by circumstances of language to study facts relating to the achievements of science by means of a foreign language, it is obvious that the educational film has a very useful part to play in the educational scheme. Not only can the scientific education of Indian children be made more productive of assured benefits by means of the cinema, but they could be taught history by means of films in a more realistic manner. They would then have the great figures in, say, English, or Scottish, or French history actually living over again the lives which have made their names immortal clothed in clothes which they actually wore in their days on this earth, and amid surroundings true in every detail to surroundings amid which they lived and performed their great deeds. No boy or girl can so far escape the influence of their environment as to be able to visualise an episode in the history of a strange country without reproducing in mind's eye scenes with which they are familiar, but which do not harmonise at all with the scenes of the true picture. If, for no other reason than for remedying this defect by imprinting a true picture of the scenes of historical incidents, educational films should find a prominent place in the curriculum of all schools and colleges.

National Centre Needs.

Only a few years ago the cinema was a mere peepshow, ridiculed by the rulers of commercial entertainment at that time. To-day this crazy idea has grown into a world entertainment, international, as no other form of entertainment has ever been. In India where there is no powerful force in contemporary life it falls between a few producers on one hand and a few exhibitors on the other. Whatever else is done, there can be no real and general improvement until some permanent centre is established which can turn a steady, creative influence on the Indian cinema.

The Legislative Assembly at Delhi, or whatever the legislative organisation concerned with educational questions in India may be called after the next instalments of reforms, could not further the cause of education better than by making it compulsory in all schools and colleges throughout the country to employ the cinema for educational purposes. In biology, sociology, botany, history, physics, chemistry, geology, astronomy, archaeology, architecture, painting and music, films prepared by experts in their subjects under efficient cinema directors, would hasten the pace of education in India, and now that the talking film has proved a useful thing, films could be more effectively employed in India for dispelling the darkness of ignorance in the most out-of-the-way villages than was considered practical or possible before.

Economically, the cinema is capable of producing revolutionary changes for the better in agriculture in India demonstrating to the ryot and landlord the advantages of scientific agriculture. To some extent, the Indian railways have employed films for propaganda purposes, and they have showed the way for the more extensive use of the cinema in other directions. One can hardly exaggerate the great strides which India would make, for instance in sanitation and hygiene, if films dealing with sanitation and hygiene were, for example, broadcast by means of railways and motor lorries.

No matter in which direction it is intended to educate India, the cinema provides a potent instrument for disseminating accurate useful knowledge, and in no sphere of Indian life so potent as in schools and colleges, for both children and adults.

THE INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OF NATIONS.

P. N. Ghosh, M.A., PH.D., SC.D.,
Professor of Applied Physics.

It is well known that the state of civilization and the economic independence of a nation is determined by the amount of power actually consumed by the different sections of the population. The power production of a nation is thus an index of its industrial activity and economic state. The following statistics published by the " International Union for Distribution and Production of Electrical energy" will indicate the magnitude of electrical energy produced in million kilowatt hours by the different nationalities. It may however be pointed out that at present there is a large tendency to supply electrical energy to rural population and nowhere in the world has this procedure been adopted in larger extent than in the United States of America. Though this will cover a fair portion of the energy in the statistics at the same time the large industries are the heavy consumers of electrical energies.

TABLE.

Production of Energy.

	1934	In 1934-35	In Million K. W. h. Variation %
Germany	16,762	19,118	+14,0
Sweden	4,820	5,492	+13,9
Great Britain	15,461	17,564	+13,6
Canada	21,141	23,405	+10,1
U. S. A.	85,564	93,420	+ 9,0
Switzerland	4,209	4,541	+ 7,8
Poland	2,442	2,607	+ 6,8
France	10,702	11,061	+ 3,3

In Germany 97% of the total production is due to 122 large and small power stations. In France, 68 large power stations are required for the supply.

There is another fact about the production of non-ferrous metals which every student of Economics is aware of regarding the part played in the economic activity of nations. Leaving aside the precious metals, gold, silver, and platinum the supply of copper, zinc, tin and lead happens to be restricted to the definite localities but aluminium is gradually playing a very large part both in domestic appliances and also in many other uses, *e.g.*, power distribution and different types of containers. History of aluminium production can be stated to be beginning from the middle of the last century and it was during early nineties of the last century, the commercial production of aluminium became a possibility. Within the last forty years, aluminium production gradually became larger and larger. The first plants were set up practically in the same time in France, Switzerland and in the United States of America, but the world war gave a great impetus to its production specially in Central Europe and also in Italy. But it was only after 1930 that there has been very large scale advances in aluminium production in different countries. The following table shows the production of aluminium in the different countries during the year 1933, 1934 and 1935:—

TABLE.

World Aluminium Production in Tons.

	1933.	1934.	1935.
France	14,500	16,000	16,000
Switzerland	7,500	8,100	8,000
Germany	18,900	37,200	60,000
Austria	2,000	2,200	2,000
Great Britain	11,000	12,900	14,000
Norway	15,500	15,500	15,000
Italy	12,100	12,800	13,000
Sweden	0	200	1,000
Spain	1,100	1,200	1,200
Soviet Republic	4,400	14,400	24,000
Japan	0	700	3,500
U. S. A.	38,600	33,600	45,000
Canada	16,200	15,500	17,500

It shows that at the present moment, Germany is the largest producer and the United States of America comes next in order. Great Britain, France and Norway and Italy practically occupy the same position. The most interesting figure is that of Japan, its production in 1935 being 3,500 tons whereas in 1933 it did not produce any amount at all. The next figure is that of the Soviet Republic which increased its production from 4,400 tons in 1933 to 24,000 tons in 1935 and it should be remembered in this connection that so far there has been no aluminium mineral, *e. g.*, bauxite in Russia and all the aluminium produced is by a special process from ordinary clay. It is well known that India has rich mine-fields of bauxite, perhaps one of the best in the world, but what is its status regarding aluminium production and what is it due to ?

P. N. GHOSH.

At Home and Abroad

Dr. Olsvanger's Mission

" I have come to India on behalf of the Palestine Foundation Fund to enlist the sympathy and support of the Jews in this country. The Jews here have been helping us in the past, but we would like to have increased help and sympathy," said Dr. Immanuel Olsvanger, Delegate to the Oriental Congress on behalf of the Palestine Foundation Fund.

Dr. Olsvanger came to Bombay from Palestine during the early part of the month and will be meeting the Jews at Bombay. He is a student of Indian History and is much interested in happenings in India. He expressed his anxiety to visit both Mahatma Gandhi and Poet Tagore.

" The settlement of Jews in Palestine," he said, "started some fifty years ago by emigrants from Russia and Rumania. But the colonization which they carried on mainly with the support of the late Baron Edmund de Rothschild of Paris was on a very small scale and a very slow tempo. With the founding of the Zionist organisation in 1897, the colonisation received a new impetus but since 1918 it has begun to develop quickly and systematically.

" The forces that drove Jews from many of the countries," he said, " to emigrate to Palestine were of a threefold nature. It was the desire of the orthodox Jews to live in Palestine, that being their holy land. It was moreover the national longing of the Jews, of millions of Jews, to rebuild their homeland.

The most remarkable of the Jewish towns is Tel Aviv, situated on the shore of the Mediterranean in close neighbourhood to Jaffa. Tel Aviv, which was once an insignificant suburb of Jaffa with a population of only 2,000, has to-day 70,000 inhabitants. The town is surrounded by a chain of orange and grape fruit groves, where hundreds of Arabs and Jews find employment."

Stay-in Strike again in France

" Stay in" strikes are again creating a serious situation.

The Minister of the Interior, M. Sulengro, is leaving immediately to direct negotiations between employers and employees at Lille, where 40,000 textile workers are on strike. The employers are demanding evacuation of the factories before negotiations.

A "stay in" strike at Michelin works at Clermont Ferrand has ended, but 6,000 metal workers at Douai have struck and 15,000 heavy industry workers have struck at Marseilles, where the employers also refuse to negotiate as long as the works are occupied.

Dockers' strikes at Le Havre and Cherbourg have ended, but seamen have struck at Lorient and forty vessels are held up there.

Japanese Invasion of Australia

Grave fears of Japanese invasion of Australia within the next 20 years were expressed by Mr. Rudolf Cerny, an Austrian free-lance journalist and representative of "Neue Zuricher Zeitung" Zurich, Switzerland, who is visiting New Zealand in the course of a world tour. That feeling was shared by certain European residents in Japan, Mr. Cerny added.

The Japanese population had grown by 30,000,000 in the last 20 years and was increasing at the rate of 1,500,000 annually, Mr. Cerny said. Possessions such as Korea and Formosa already had very large populations and could not absorb the Japanese surplus.

Fortifications were being erected in Marshal and Caroline Islands, and Australia definitely seemed to be threatened. Japan's opportunity would come if England were involved in Europe with the British fleet engaged in home waters. The strong Japanese navy would have little difficulty in overpowering the relatively small sea force Australia could muster.

Mr. Cerny made no reference to New Zealand, for this is his first visit here and he has had no opportunity to examine the country.

Turkish Fleet to Cruise Mediterranean

It is understood that the Turkish Fleet, led by the battle-cruiser *Yavuz*, the former German "Goeben," will cruise in the Mediterranean beginning on October 16. It will first visit Malta in reply to the invitation of the British Admiralty and then Pheleron to return the visit of the Greek Fleet to Istanbul last year.

Political circles here attribute great importance to the cruise. It is the first time that the Turkish Fleet has left national waters since Kemal Ataturk became President in 1923.

Kemal welcomes the King

Turkish destroyers met *Nahlin*, carrying King Edward VIII, off Tenedos. A deputation headed by General Fahreddin on behalf of the President Kemal welcomed the King. *Nahlin* proceeded to Seddul where His Majesty disembarked on a pilgrimage to the Gallipoli cemeteries where many wreaths were laid.

The King then inspected the Dardanelles battlefields.

As the Turkish warships passed over the spot where a British warship was sunk during the War the crew dropped a laurel wreath, the Turks joining in the British tributes at the War graves.

American Warships to withdraw from Spanish Waters

Mr. Cordell Hull, U. S. Secretary of State, has announced that the cruiser *Quincey*, the destroyers *Kanke* and *Hatfield* and the coast-guard cutter *Cayuga* have been ordered to withdraw from Spanish waters and proceed to near-by neutral ports to await possible emergency calls.

Instructions to American Representatives in Spain

The American Government's representatives in Spain have been told to remain at their posts as long as they safely can, but they have been given full discretion to close the offices and flee the country if necessary.

M. Trotsky

Accompanied by six police cars M. Trotsky and his wife left the house they occupied for a year, for their new residence at Sundby, 20 miles south of Oslo, where in accordance with the Government's decision they will live under the strictest police supervision.

M. Trotsky's lawyer stated that M. Trotsky intended to begin a suit against the Norwegian Communists and the Fascists' National Union Party with a view to clearing himself of accusations.

Jews in Palestine

The British Trade Union Congress received a cable from Mr. Green on behalf of the American Federation of Labour, urging the Congress to try to prevent the limitation of Jewish immigration into Palestine and opposing the revision or abridgement of the Balfour Declaration to create a Jewish national home in Palestine.

Non-intervention in Spain

The Soviet Government has informed Britain of its readiness to sit at the League of Nations Co-ordinating Committee for the enforcement of non-intervention in Spain. The Hungarian and Finnish Governments have also agreed to be represented. Germany is now the only country from whom no acceptance has been received. The British Charge D'Affaires at Berlin has made further representations in this connection. An early and favourable reply is hoped for.

' Red ' Army Manoeuvres

No less than 1,200 parachutists carrying portions of 18 field-guns and 150 machine-guns jumped simultaneously from aeroplanes during the concluding phase of the "Red" army manoeuvres.

Within eight minutes of landing, the parachutists assembled the guns and routed the "enemy" by a rear attack.

Purge of all Trotskyites

A countrywide purge of all Trotskyites is expected to follow the execution of Zinovieff and other leaders. The entire Soviet Press demands investigation into all people in leading Soviet institutions to "expose the hidden enemies."

The *Pravda* says that only leadership has been destroyed. The treacherous remnant of this band, skilfully masked, continues its activities for which the thrice contemptible chieftains have been executed.

Norway's Ban on Trotsky

The Ministry of Justice at Oslo, requested the passports office to ask Trotsky to agree during the remainder of his stay in Norway not to intervene in political affairs of other countries and to confine himself to activities of writing historical works and treatises not directed against any other country.

Anglo-Egyptian Treaty signed

The new Anglo-Egyptian Treaty was signed in the Locarno Room of the Foreign Office at London. Mr. Anthony Eden, Lord Halifax, Sir John Simon, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and Sir Miles Lampson signed on behalf of the British Government, while all thirteen Egyptian delegates headed by Nahas Pasha signed the treaty.

Mr. Eden said that the treaty was the beginning of a new stage in the Anglo-Egyptian relations and was a pledge and an instrument of future collaboration.

Premier Nahas Pasha described the treaty as a symbol for Britain and Egypt to show themselves to the world as two equal and friendly countries.

British Labour vote against Intervention

The annual Trade Union Congress at Plymouth dealt with the burning question of Spain in a resolution extolling the self-sacrificing bravery of the Spanish workers in the defence of liberty and democracy and uttering a warning that utmost vigilance would be necessary to prevent the international agreement from being utilised to injure the Spanish Government.

The resolution added that a special duty was incumbent on the British Government to ensure that Portugal enforced those agreements.

The resolution was carried on a show of hands by an overwhelming majority.

The Congress previously rejected an amendment in favour of intervention on behalf of the Spanish Government by 3,000,000 votes against 51,000.

In support of the official policy endorsing the non-intervention agreement, Sir Walter Citrine appealed to the Congress to stifle their natural impulse and use their brains. In the absence of an agreement, the various Powers would be entitled to send munitions to Spain. If anybody could supply munitions they will be Italy and Germany, and the only answer would be a naval blockade of the coasts of Spain, possibly leading to military action.

"Dare the British labour movement take such action. Frankly, I cannot say 'yes,'" he added.

Portugal's New Oath of Allegiance

An oath of allegiance to the Portuguese Constitution and "actively repudiating communism and other subversive ideas" must henceforth be signed by holders of State posts, executive staff, autonomous public services, Portugal's diplomatic representatives abroad and candidates for professorships in State colleges, according to a Government decree just promulgated. In the case of the Army and Navy an oath of allegiance to the Flag will replace the written declaration.

France to increase Ammunition

France's reply to Germany's increase of the period of military service is likely to consist of a qualitative and a quantitative increase of guns and war materials, according to a usually well-informed diplomatic correspondent of *L'Intransigeant*. He expresses the opinion that the extension of French military service will be rejected on economic ground.

Simultaneously France is likely to forge ahead with the organisation of collective security in connection with which the reaffirmation of Franco-Polish alliance is regarded as an important factor. According to the correspondent M. Daladier estimates that in October the German army will number 850,000 of whom 280,000 are professionals compared with the French 400,000 of whom only 80,000 are professionals.

London Naval Treaty

The Japanese reply to the British in not invoking the escalator clause under the London Naval Treaty says that Japan intends to retain 11,059 tons of surplus destroyers and 15,598 tons of surplus submarines. The note ended the consideration.

News and Views.

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, events aud movements in India and outside.]

Lucknow University.

A correspondent informs us that while the strong special committee set up some months ago has reported to the academic council that no honorary degrees should be conferred this year, two members of that very committee (both of them professors) have given notice of resolutions that the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature should be conferred at the next Convocation on Sir J. P. Srivastava, Minister of Education.

Hooghly College Centenary.

The centenary of the Hooghly College at Chinsurah, which was established on Aug. 1, 1836, will be celebrated on November 28 and the following days. The construction of a well-equipped common room in this connection is already in progress.

Patna University Convocation.

It is understood that the next Convocation of the Patna University, to be held in November, will be addressed by Mr. C. R. Reddy, Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University.

Art School at Cuttack.

The Education Reconstruction Committee has decided that an art school will be established at Cuttack which will be managed by the Government Training in weaving, dyeing, sculpture, architecture, etc., will be imparted here.

New Cellege for Kashmir.

The Kashmir and Jammu Durbar have decided to open a new College of Science and Technology which will be affiliated to the Punjab University.

Dictionary of Chinese Phrases.

After 20 years of intensive study, the Chung Hwa Book Company of Shanghai, one of the largest concerns of its kind in China, announced that it will publish a huge dictionary of Chinese phrases.

The entire work will contain nearly 7,000,000 characters, and will be in two volumes of more than 3,000 pages, each with four horizontal columns.

Old and new terms, phrases and proper names, are to be included, with quotations directly from original works with chapter citations.

In all, about 100,000 phrases will be given in the publication.

German University News.

This year's competitions in light athletics, rowing, swimming, and tennis among German university students took place at Bonn-on-the-Rhine on June 27th and 28th.

The 550th anniversary of the foundation of Heidelberg University was celebrated from June 27th to 30th, 1936. On June 29th the former students of the University from all parts of the world were welcomed by the leader of the present body of students. Herr Kreuzer, a student of law.

The programme of holiday courses arranged by the German universities for the 1936 Olympic year was particularly comprehensive. Some of them—especially those of a pronounced cultural character—were held with the co-operation of the German Academic Exchange Bureau. One of their numbers—which was entitled, "Das neue Deutschland,"—was conducted in the Deutsche Hochschule fur Politik, Berlin. Special courses were arranged to take place at Bonn (for English-speaking students of Germanic philology) and at Jena (for Scandinavian teachers and students).

The number of students from Germany and elsewhere matriculating at Konigsberg University is particularly large this year and amounts to about one thousand. The Deutsch-Niederlandische Institut affiliated to Kologne University has made arrangements, in colloboration with the students, for a Verschaeve Exhibition, which is to take place on the institute premises.

Arrangements for a training camp for students of agriculture have been made by the Reichsbund Deutscher Diplomlandwirte at Crawinkel, Thuringia. Some lading members of the National Food Corporation ("Reichsnährstand") will read papers on their respective subjects.

The number of Chinese students abroad (1935) is indicated by the following figures: United States—254 ; Great Britain—121 ; Germany—61 ; France—42 ; Japan—37 ; Belgium—16 ; Italy—10 ; Canada—3, and Switzerland, Austria, Denmark and the Netherlands—1 each.

Berlin Students for Foreign Visitors.

(Enquiry-office for Musical Matters—with Interpreters and Guides).

The Students Organisation in Berlin gives foreigners information, either verbally, in writing, or by telephone, on all kinds of musical performances or festivals, training or continuation of training for musicians, matters appertaining to music, and on the general organisation of musical life in Germany.

The information is given in German, English, French and Italian. Parties will be conducted by interpreters speaking the abovementioned languages through the famous Collection in the Musical Section of the Prussian State Library. The musical treasures of the "Deutschland" exhibition now being held in Berlin and the State Music Instruments Museum will also be visited. The address of the Students Organisation in Berlin is :— *Berlin*: *N 4, Johannisstrasse, 1.*

Goethe and New Germany.

It was but a short while ago that Mr. Baldwin said he wished British writers could be found who would succeed better in building bridges between the various nations than politicians had succeeded in doing. No one can accuse the British premier of exaggerated passion: his cool sobriety seems almost like the embodiment of all that foreigners understand by British common sense. His words, however, gain in point, and he is certainly expressing an opinion that many, throughout a wearied and distracted world, will be found to share. The appeal for writers capable of explaining the national values of one community to those of another causes one to ask what sort of attitude do people to-day adopt towards the great writers of the past !

It has frequently been said that modern Germany no longer possesses any relationship with Goethe, and that Germans either ignore or even despise the greatest figure of their literary past. This reproach would be one to cause great shame, if it were true ; it would certainly be just to assume, in that case, some anxiety about Germany's relationship to the rest of the world. Before examining the facts, however, it might not be amiss to see whence this reproach (and others of a similar nature) are directed.

In Germany before national socialism came into power there were people who exploited Goethe's so-called "world citizenship" to deny that there was any value in national feelings and to declare these as uncivilised. Thus Germany's finest intellect was degraded to the position of shield-bearer to a kind of liberalism, and behind it figures took refuge, whose political and business life were well suited by one of Goethe's own most pointed sayings :—

" He who understands money
Also understands the times—
Surely understands the times..."

These actually are the people, some of them living abroad, who complain that Goethe, since National Socialism came into power, has been placed under a cloud in his own country.

Let us now examine the facts. There are times when the people of any nation may forget the great figures of their intellectual past. It is only necessary to think about the example of England and Shakespeare to appreciate that this is true. More than 150 years elapsed without the name of Shakespeare, England's most outstanding literary genius, being so much as mentioned. Even when his work were revived, their effect was far profounder in Germany than it was in Britain. Is it possible, perhaps, that Goethe has nothing more to say to Germans ? This could be believed only by an extremely superficial observer. It is, however, true to say that there are moments when the political will of a nation may be so intense that all intellectual effort is used merely to promote a national reformation. A people caught up in such a movement looks back upon its past history, and eagerly remembers and emulates such characters that can be brought into some sort of relationship with the important present. To do this with Goethe is not always easy. This was the poet who once cried out to his people :—

" You Germans hope, in vain, to develop into a nation—
" Therefore use your strength—you can do this—to develop as free human beings."

Sayings like this, however, are capable of being turned into bridges of understanding. When it was uttered in 1794, the tumult of the French Revolution was knocking at the doors of the Holy Roman Empire, which fell to pieces only a few years later. It was no wonder, therefore, that many of the most advanced German thinkers, seeing the confusion all around and the political disunion in their own country, doubted whether it was possible to obtain anything more than an intellectual unity. Their consciousness of their national values was not any the less for this opinion. It was probable that they believed Germany was reserved, for great achievements in the fields of art and science, and that this would, in some part, compensate her for her situation as a battleground for European quarrels. Goethe in his later years was a minister in a small state, who had to look after the interests of his master at a time when many German princes were joining forces with Napoleon : but this Goethe should not cause one to overlook the young man who venerated Frederick the Great as his hero. In his Strassburg days, his feelings at the sight of the minster were stirred by the deepest national feelings, and surely no one could doubt such a work as "Goetv" now, as then, finds enthusiastically appreciative readers. "Egmont." also, is far less the account of a life's tragedy than the description of a country fighting for its freedom against a foreign domination. Certainly there was another Goethe—he of the Italian Journey, devotee of classisms, who often seemed to separate himself from his own people. It would be insulting to look for excuses. It is not possible merely to remember young Goethe, and to pass over his most mature work. The intellectual heritage that has come down to us must be accepted whole, and the German people do not think otherwise, but it is not unnatural that the things that will be encouraged are those which can most easily be related to the present. One thing is certain that national socialism has released literature from various shackles, and it is now possible for comparatively poor people to possess themselves of the classics. In more than one speech Adolf Hitler has emphasized the importance of classical literature to modern Germany. It is his words that give the guarantee that to-day, as in the past, the work of Germany's national poet will continue to influence Germans. Indeed this influence, will probably be all the stronger for the absence of those who would have turned him into the representative of a superficial inter-nationalism, and who actually did employ his words to suit their own purposes.—

Miscellany

NEW METHODS OF CHRISTIANS MISSION

From September 1931 to June 1932 a Commission of American "laymen" under the Chairmanship of Prof. W. E. Hocking of Harvard University made a tour of India, Burma, Ceylon, China, Japan, Manchuria and Korea in order to study the achievements and prospects of Christian Missions. The report of these investigations has been published as *Rethinking Missions: A Laymen's Inquiry after One Hundred Years* (New York, 1932, 365 pages).

We conceive, then, says the Commission, a change in the conception of the foreign mission, in which functions and methods appropriate in earlier days shall gradually give place to permanent functions and methods. In the era of church planting it was natural that many persons of various degrees of equipment should be sent from abroad, aggressively promoting the local church; it was natural, too, that with a strong sense of the superiority and sufficiency of their own culture they should have tried to sever all association on the part of their converts with old custom, thought and religion. In the coming era, which might be pictured as an era of foreign service or ambassadorship, it will be natural, rather to maintain in foreign lands a relatively few highly equipped persons, acceptable to those lands and representing the Christian way of thought and life, holding themselves ready to give advice and counsel whether to the local church or to other leaders of religion and thought, sympathetically concerned with the problems of changing local culture, and trying to minimize the strains of an abrupt breach with tradition.

The contrast between the old methods and the new methods in missionizing as suggested by the Commission can be seen below in two columns (p. 28):—

Old Methods.	New Methods.
1. Sending many persons of various equipment to preach widely so that the message shall have been heard.	1. Maintaining a relatively few highly equipped persons, representing the Christian way of thought and life, acceptable to or invited by the foreign land.
2. Aggressively promoting the local church through efforts actuated from the home churches.	2. Standing at the service of the local church for advice and counsel, as well as of other leaders of thought and religion.
3. Expounding single-mindedly the Christianity and culture of the West; and tending to sever converts from old contexts in order to establish a distinctive body of local Christians.	3. Studying sympathetically the problems of the changing local culture; trying to preserve what is valuable in the past of the people, and to minimize the dangers of abrupt break with tradition.

	Old Methods.		New Methods.
4.	Carrying on educational and medical work primarily as a means of evangelizing and building up the Christian community.	4.	Carrying on pioneer and experimental work in education, medicine, rural development and other social applications of the Christian view of life, primarily in view of the emerging needs of the foreign land.
5.	Training nationals as leaders who will in time replace the missionaries.	5.	Maintaining institutions for the study and interpretation of Christian civilization, of philosophy, theology, comparative religion, both for higher training of qualified Christians, and as places of liaison with scholarly inquirers and interpreters of the Orient.
		6.	Seeking through such intercourse a deeper grasp of the meaning of Christianity ; promoting world unity through the spread of the universal elements of religion; enlivening the churches at home and abroad through rapport with each other.

The charges in orientation are fundamental and point but to the impacts of New Asia on Eur-America. In case such attitudes are accepted by the west world-reconstruction may be expected to proceed on more humane and reasonable foundations. The logic of these new orientations was foreshadowed in the present writer's "Futurism of Young Asia" (*International Journal of Ethics*, Chicago, July 1918.)

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIP IN THE BALKAN COMPLEX.

Two tendencies are revealed by the nations inhabiting the Balkans. Those of the Balkan nations who for a long period have experienced dictatorships demand the introduction of democracy and the setting aside of regimes which, in the public opinion of those countries, are incapable of overcoming the crisis and of governing in the present serious times. In this respect Jugoslavia comes first. In that country the remnants of an authoritative regime have been removed by the comprehensive Government proclamation and by the demands of the Opposition.

During recent months Bulgaria has also echoed the demands for the abandonment of all forms of dictatorship and for the installation of a democratic government. It is not only the very radically minded farmers and workers who desire something other than the regime at present in control of the country, but also the old bourgeois parties who are again showing themselves in public, for the moment only as free debating societies, They are very adversely criticising the non-success of the dictatorial regime and desire a popular government. Thus three hundred delegates of the once powerful Democratic Party recently met at Sofia and demanded the restoration of constitutional life and civic liberty.

Greece follows another path. After the King's return from exile a great deal was written in Europe to the effect that during his many years of residence in London, he had learned the "English" style of government, and that Greece would be Great Britain in miniature after his restoration. However it seems that the South Balkan atmosphere is not suitable to that Northern plant. The first social storms broke out,—the strike of the tobacco workers in Salonica and the strike of the public employees sympathising with the workers' demands ; and in place of a conciliatory liquidation of the wages' dispute we read reports of brisk police intervention in the strike, the force having suddenly become very competent in handling social questions. Then followed the unsuccessful general strike. At the beginning of August (1936) the preparation of a second general strike which was to have been declared at midnight on Wednesday, was again being talk of abroad. The Government forestalled the workers and on the basis of an agreement between the King and the military converted itself into a military dictatorship.

The government ceaselessly emphasise in its reports that the movement which it defeated by the political *coup* was Communist. Against this the Greek reports say nothing concerning the nature of the workers' demands, whether they were discussed and on what points the parties failed to reach an agreement.

By the *coup* the country has returned to the state in which it was for many years,—namely, a military dictatorship which, hitherto, has never accomplished anything in the question which gave rise to the latest dispute —the labour question in Greece.—*Narodni Osvobozeni* (Belgrade).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

THE BALKAN ECONOMY *VIS-A-VIS* GERMANY.

Germany's economic expansion has been the easiest in the States which were her allies in the World War, like Hungary, Bulgaria and to some extent Austria, where the Reich has only to maintain and develop former ties. It is more difficult in Rumania, Jugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, especially the last,—the " Little Entente " countries which have an inherited enmity to the Germans sharpened by the war experience.

Czechoslovakia has been forced into active resistance to economic penetration by Germany. Under the new law of national defence firms employing foreigners are excluded from government contracts even remotely connected with national defence, and German engineers are being replaced by Czechs.

It is in Rumania that German economic expansion can be conveniently studied. Rumania's Hohenzollern ruler, King Carol, is absolutely Rumanian, but in the traditional anti-Semitism of Rumania Germany finds valuable support.

In Jugoslavia Germany has found two valuable allies,—the damage done to Jugoslav foreign trade by the "sanctions," against Italy and the threat to Jugoslav unity involved in Austrian plans for the restoration of the Hapsburgs. Jugoslavia's participation in sanctions meant that she lost at one blow her best customer and principal supplier. In her desire to injure Italy in Ethiopia, who, she is convinced, will to-morrow be a danger in the Adriatic area, she did not hesitate to give the fullest support to the League and the sanctions. But it meant great difficulties for a country already in such economic distress that for years depositors have been forbidden by law to draw their money from the banks.

Jugoslavia confidently expected that the League would find other markets for her. Great Britain gave a small preference to Jugoslav poultry over that of Hungary, who had sided with Italy against the League. Jugoslavia was grateful, but there was still the big problem of her important timber exports to Italy, which, of course, had ended.

The Reich's task in Bulgaria is made easier by the war-time friendship and the common revisionist tendencies of the two countries. Furthermore, ex-king Ferdinand, who is still to a large extent the ruler of Bulgaria, since King Boris consults him on every important question, resides in Germany and is an ardent admirer of Hitler.

In 1931 Germany stood second as a supplier of Greece's needs. Greek exports to Germany were only half her imports. In 1934 imports from Germany rose by more than one-half. In the first three months of 1936 they again rose, but Germany's purchases had so far increased that at the end of April the Bank of Greece had credits of 12,000,000 in Germany.

The situation in Hungary, a wartime ally, resembles that in Bulgaria. Her credits in Germany amount to about 10,000,000 dollars. To obtain recompense she has been accepting quantities of goods such as optical instruments, etc.

Under a new cultural agreement just concluded, German professors will be appointed to German chairs in Hungarian universities and German lecturers will be selected by the Nazi government for Hungarian secondary and high schools.—*Central European Observer* (Prague).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

INDUSTRIAL CONTROL IN JAPAN

According to R. Nozaki in the *Nihon Hyrop* (Tokyo), the prevailing crisis is to be attributed to the paradox that, while the various economic activities of this country are destined to expand extremely, the national strength is not great enough to remove external pressure. This pressure must obviously be removed for Japan to go along the path of progress but the replenishment of economic power is a primary requisite for the country to achieve this task.

[illegible]
less in
Japan
than in
Russia

What is meant by this external pressure? The situation in the Soviet Union is one aspect of it. The military expenditures of the Soviets amount to one-sixth of their national income. Japan's national income amounts to Y 14,000,000,000 a year and one-sixth of it is Y 2,300,000,000. The military expenditures in the 1936-37 fiscal year working budget have increased, but still they are less than a half the total State budget and the figure is Y 1,070,000,000 of which the army appropriation is only Y 520,000,000. Of course, the national income is small and the ratio of military expenditures to it is also small. Considering these relations, the military expenditure to be borne by Japanese *per capita* is less than one-third that of the Soviets.

No matter whether Japan likes it or not, the Japanese army and navy expenditures must be increased. The only question is as to how much. A few figures alleged to have been prepared by the Army and Navy authorities since the February 26 incident are available, but no credit can be given to them. The writer considers that the army and navy need Y 1,000,000,000 each for the next six or seven years. During the recent five years' service expenditures have been forced to be increased by 150 per cent., and in the next six or seven years 100 per cent. more should be required. This would bring such expenditures to 14 per cent. of national income as against the 17 per cent. of the Soviets.

Not only the military expenses, but administrative and industrial expenses are bound to increase, so that the budget figure can be expected to advance to about Y 4,000,000.000. The national production too may increase automatically in correspondence, but even then the production will not be able to meet the expenditures, because this will mean the lowering of the national standard of living. The question is how Japan can meet the increasing military and other State expenditures without causing the national standard of living to go down.

To do this the national production must be increased to about Y 30,000,000,000 for the next six or seven years. The ratio of increase of annual production must be over 10 per cent., but it will be difficult for Japan to attain this under its present economic structure. Thus, a change to managed economy from free economy will become unavoidable. The motive for managed economy is primarily military need, as far as Japan is concerned. In Japan the need of trade control is not so keenly felt and urgent as in Germany. Except for the trade with Manchuokuo, Japan's trade balance with leading Powers is marked by a large excess of imports, but Japan can do well without taking nasty counter measures in this regard under the prevailing circumstances. The Exchange Control Law is protecting the country's foreign trade balance from becoming dangerously adverse. What Japan needs most at present is industrial control and money market control. Industrial control is liable to be mixed up by the major industry control law now in force, but the two are fundamentally different in substance. The industrial control herein urged has as its ultimate object a rapid increase of the productive power of the nation based on managed economy.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

BARTER *vs.* MONEY ECONOMY IN BENGAL

Barter is prevalent to a large extent in the Mofussil of the Twenty-four Parganas and Barisal. Produce-rent is also well-known. Teachers' salaries, ferry services, etc., are paid in paddy. For some time salt manufacture has been going on rendering the rural folk virtually self-contained.[1]

From the experiences of Mymensingh one can assert that money-economy is not much noticeable among peasants except in the articles like cloth, salt, kerosene, tobacco, umbrella, agricultural tools and so forth. During the depression period repayments have hardly been made by debtors who have therefore succeeded in escaping privation to this extent. Among the Garos money-economy is almost nil. In *char* lands the economy is virtually untouched by money except in the matter of paying rents. The very fact that currency circulation in India is too small in comparison with the amount of foreign and internal trade indicates that price-economy is not yet well-developed on a large scale in Indian business transactions.

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[1] From a discussion on the theory of prices held at tha *Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Economics),

Money-economy has been expanding in the villages of Mymensingh. But payment in the form of personal service is still quite prevalent.

The Chakmas and other tribes of the Chittagong Hill Tracts can be described as constituting virtually an economic autarchy. It is impossible, of course, to maintain that barter is exclusively prevalent in the villages. In Khulna, Jessore, Noakhali and other districts of South East Bengal, price-economy is very often to be encountered. In those instances where barter is in evidence one of the partners is generally subject to money-economy.

In the Vikrampur villages of Dacca, personal service is a prominent medium of payment by laundrymen, barbers, scavengers and others who get foodstuffs in return. In certain parts of Nadia and Murshidabad barter as well as personal service were very prevalent even two decades ago but have of late been declining. The expansion of jute cultivation has been bringing the agricultural classes more and more to the regime of market-money and price-economy.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

Reviews and Notices of Books

" THE NEW GERMANY " (1)

On June 18th, during the historic debates on Foreign Affairs in the British Parliament when the British Government announced its intention of giving up sanctions against Italy, Mr. Baldwin, speaking very seriously about the existing state of international tension in Europe, said:

> " *The part Germaay can play for good or evil in Europe is immense!* "

But no one can understand the tremendous importance of Germany's actions unless he possesses an accurate knowledge of the National Socialist State in Germany. In his recent study, " The New Germany: National Socialist Government in Theory and Practice," Dr. Fritz Ermath makes a real contribution to the subject. It is an objective study of the forces which have brought about the overthrow of the Wiemar Constitution and the German Republic and the disintegration of German Democracy and its replacement by the rise of a totalitarian state.

The general thesis of Dr. Ermath's study is that National Socialism was inevitable in Germany and that the unjust Treaty of Versailles was one of its causes. From the standpoint of the evolution of the state, the author contends that the totalitarian state in Germany was the natural consequence of capitalism; the Democratic Government, which was weak and did not receive the full support of the people, was unable to put down the powerful political parties which used their constitutional rights of freedom of speech, right of assembly and armed organizations, to undermine the State.

The radicals of the "Right" and the "Left" combined to destroy a weak State, against which the nation had political and economic grievances. This overthrow of a Democratic State might have resulted in some form of Dictatorship; Dictatorship of the Working Class, Dictatorship of the Capitalistic Group, or the Dictatorship of those who enjoyed the confidence of the vast majority of the Middle Class.

Overthrow of the Wiemar Republic was lagerly sought by the Junkers and the Ruhr industrialists; however, they did not have popular mass support, and therefore used Hitler who enjoyed the confidence of the masses, and especially of the Middle Class, which was demanding some form of socialistic measure on a nationalist (not an international), basis—(page 25). When Herr Hitler convinced the capitalist leaders of Germany that he was opposed to an economic democracy which amounted to a form of Bolshevism, they agreed to extend support to his movement and this helped him to secure control of the Government. However, one must not think that the National Socialist Party, which is now equivalent to the National Socialist State, is merely a tool in the hands of the capitalists.

In his critical analysis of the Totalitarian State's constitutional structure, Dr. Ermath establishes the fact that *the State controls the individual*

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1 Fritz Ermath, *The New Germany: National Socialist Government in Theory and Practice.* Washington, D.C. (Digest Press; American University Graduate School) 1936. pages 205. price $ 23'00.

in all spheres of activity. The individual has no right to that which may stand in the way of the ideal and goal of the State. "German life in all its aspects is incorporated into the giant structure of the Totalitarian States ; German life in all its ramifications is imbued with the National Socialist doctrine. From earliest childhood the bodies and minds of the young are trained for the task of the political soldiers awaiting them. Not until death comes is a man released from his duties toward the State."—(Pp. 74-75.) In a totalitarian state an individual has no liberty ; it is his duty to serve the state at its dictation, and the army is the main support of the state's power.

From the standpoint of political theory, the ideal behind the National Socialistic State, which emphasises the 'leader principle," is the medieval Catholic philosophy of the organization of the State, and the Fascist idea of the co-operative State, as evolved by Italian Fascism. "The creation of a co-operative, or guild, Parliament on an occupational basis, as a legislative body or advisory council to the political leader, figures prominently in all proposals for a co-operative State." (P. 84)

In the chapter, "The Economic State," the author devotes about a hundred pages to a discussion of the various phases of state control over agriculture, finance, and industry, and comes to a most interesting conclusion: "National Socialist economic policies are not only devices to maintain the *status quo* with regard to economic relations and ownership of the means of production, National Socialist economic planning has other goals. *Its supreme objective is one of a political character to strengthen Germany and her national defense has been the dominating factor in German public life ever since the Nation Socialists came to power* * * (p. 171).

The Totalitarian State must maintain its power and expand, and it may have to mass its power in a future war. "*To an even greater extent than the war of 1914-1918. the coming totalitarian war will be an economic war. The country with the largest resources and the most efficient economic organisation has the greatest chance of victory.* Germany is a country with but few natural resources; the memories of the blockade are still fresh in the minds of many Germans. The hopes for a better and more just Europe, which many millions of Germans nurtured in 1919, were destroyed by the politics and interests of those groups in other nations that did not want disarmament. That their own military and economic strength is the safest basis for security, became again the conviction of the German masses. *The Totalitarian State in peace time is a preparation for the totalitarian war. Economic planning in the Totalitarion State is an effort toward economic preparedness in time of war.*" (P. 173.)

What is the future of new Germany ? "Two roads lie ahead; the one leading to social reorganization and redistribution of wealth, the other toward economic and political expansion." (P. 183). "Germany is one of the 'have-nots' under the present world order. If the other European capitalist powers refuse to grant an expanding Germany her place in the sun, the Totalitarian State may transform itself into a gigantic war-mechanism." (P. 184.)

One must admit that Germany's defeat in the World War, and the economic distress of the dispossessed masses and the middle class, were the most important cause of the rise of the Totalitarian State in Germany. Should another great war break out in Europe and Germany be involved in it, upon the outcome of the struggle depends the future of the National Socialist State, which is very likely to be swept away in case of defeat. So far as the knowledge of the reviewer goes, this work of Dr. Ermath is by far the best, and possibly the only authoritative work in English on the subject. It has an excellent and exhaustive bibliography and should be extremely helpful to those who wish to make a serious study of the subject.

TARAKNATH DAS.

Speeches and Writings: By Har Bilas Sarda. Vedic Yantralaya, Ajmer, 1935.

Diwan Bahadur Har Bilas Sarda has been a prominent figure in the public life of India for over a decade. But even before he entered the Indian Legislative Assembly in January 1924, he had gained for himself a wide reputation by the publication of his well-known work, *Hindu Superiority*. As a member of the Central Legislative of India he soon attracted attention. The legislation in child marriage of which he was the author, and which will bear his name for all time to come, not only made him famous in his country but carried his name and reputation beyond the frontiers of India.

When a person of such distinction places before the public his speeches and writings they are received everywhere with pleasure and are read with interest, Mr. Ramgopal, Bar.-at-Law, who has been a life-long friend of Diwan Bahadur Sarda, has contributed a very interesting sketch of the career and many-sided activities of his friend. From this sketch we can form an idea of Diwan Bahadur Sarda as a legislator and a social reformer. But apart from his activities as a promoter of social legislation, Mr. Sarda has been an earnest and enthusiastic historical scholar and has always taken a genuine interest in educational problems. While thus appreciating a sketch from the pen of Mr. Ramgopal, it seems proper to add that Mr. Sarda needed no foreword or introduction either from Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer or from Mr. P. Seshadri for his Speeches and Writings. He is already too well-known in the country to require any introduction. The foreword and the introduction in the book have not in any way, enhanced either its value or its importance.

In the book under review are embodied Mr. Sarda's speeches and writings in social reform as well as a number of his essays in topics historical, archaeological, education and administrative. It will undoubtedly be read with interest by different sections of our people. The printing is good and the general get-up is quite satisfactory.

TRIPURARI CHAKRAVARTI,

Manual of Public Service Commission, General Knowledge, Question-papers with Answers, by Khosla. Vocational Guidance Institute, Lahore. Price Rs. 2-12 as.

It is idle to write on general knowledge to equip students preparing for examinations held by the Public Service Commission. Such attempts should by all means be discouraged, for they weaken the self-reliance of young men, and strengthen in them a habit of shrinking from hard, honest work without which one is ill fitted to discharge the onerous duties of a responsible public servant. It seems not a little strange that the author should try to replace an encyclopaedia by a book which scarcely covers 300 pages of print. Help-books are very much in request in this conntry, but on a subject like the present, they are bound to be worse tnan useless.

But it will not be fair to deny credit to the author. He has taken pains to assemble a large body of facts belonging practically to every branch of knowledge. They are given in the form of answers and afford useful hints regarding the kind of questions one may be asked at these examinations. But accuracy in obviously not one of the strong points of this book. Thus we have "Forrsyte Saga" mentioned as Galsworthy's work with perfect indifference to the redundancy of the 'r.' (Part I, p. 131), and the Swastika explained simply as "Nazis' national Flag in Germany," (Part II, p.22). The Swastika is a prehistoric sun symbol, and it stood also for life, prosperity, and a dozen other things. A variety of lime, bearing the swastika label, has a popular demand in Calcutta. It will be probably as correct to mention this as a meaning of swastika. We may refer to another specimen of answer before we conclude. The following question and answer are both taken from the book under review (Q. 7., Part II, p. 85): "Who is Il Duce? What does he represent?" Answer. Il Duce is Signor Mussolini, dictator of Italy. He founded Fascisti movement." The suffix '—ti' is, however, a plural sign. But this answer which is a typical one, can hardly suffice for a pass.

There is an amateurish quality in the book which one will notice as soon as one opens it. The nature of the subject dealt with probably makes that unavoidable. Students who wish to succeed in public competitive examinations may make a judicious use of it without any way relying on its guidance.

S. C. S.

Guide to all Government Services, by J. N. Khosla, Vocational Guidance Institute, 12 Shahi Mohalla, Lahore, Price Rs. 2-8 as.

This volume consisting of 393 pages supplies information about the various examinations by which services under Government are filled up in India. The Civil Service, the Police Service, the Forest Service, the Railway Service are the most well-known branches of public administration. Besides them, there are dozens of other departments, providing openings to competent people, about which the knowledge among our young men is not so general. This book is very useful to students who wish to compete for any public office which is filled up by recruitment through examination. It contains the rules, syllabuses, details of medical test, etc., regarding every examination and, as such, it will prove a valuable guide to all intending candidates.

S. C. S.

Freedom and Culture, By Sir S. Radhakrishnan. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, Price Re. 1.

The book under review consists of convocation addresses delivered by Professor Radhakrishnan to different Indian Universities besides three speeches given elsewhere, one of them being at the Indian Students' Hostel, London. The subjects discussed are of current interest bearing, as they do, on practically all the important problems in the India of to-day. Professor Radhakrishnan believes that the obscurantist practices associated with every form of dogma should be discarded in the interest of the country and that leadership in all matters should belong to University men whose training and discipline have made them bold and fearless exponents of truth. Sastries, Pandits, Moulvies, and Moulanas as well as missionaries and clergymen are not serviceable to the mass of men in the opinion of Radhakrishnan, for they do not encourage a life having a rich and many-sided appeal. He has repeatedly asserted freedom of thought as a cardinal principle for the development of the University ideal and has called upon the students to look backward before they can build effectively for the future. A nation grows by assimilating its past culture and it cannot go forward unless it is strengthened by a vivid sense of its past achievements. But he has taken particular care to state that accepting the past culture is not the same thing as living under the past condition in the midst of which that culture had come into existence. The life around us clamours for our participation, and we cannot live without responding to its urgent and overwhelming call. He thus supports industrialism and the modern inventions, and does not hesitate to teach the students that it is far from wrong to earn money so as to live comfortably. Voluntary poverty may have merits but the sordid life of want kills the soul and the body alike. If money is rightly treated as a means and not as an end in itself, there is no blame in making serious efforts to again affluence. It is refreshing to hear from a great Indian philosopher his vindication of materialism. It is one of the misfortunes of our country that poverty is not treated here as a reproach but as being in some indefinable way related to spiritual life.

Radhakrishnan talks about politics, taking a perfectly sane and level-headed point of view. Swaraj about which there is so much agitation cannot be had for the asking. Nobody can give it When people have the ability to work together disinterestedly for a common goal, it is bound to come. Swaraj is thus an internal fact, in the first instance, requiring a thorough change of our national character.

Radhakrishnan supports a scientific and technological education as well as a literary one. But in taking this education, one is to consult one's personal aptitude. The atmosphere of a University is an enlarging one, and students specialising in one branch of learning have occasions to acquaint themselves with other subjects if they keep themselves ready to take advantage of general lectures organised by the University. The merit of the education imparted by a University is not so much that it places masses of facts at the disposal of the student as that it teaches him to use his discretion in evaluating them and weighing any evidence brought before him. This discipline and disinterested pursuit of truth for its own sake are the gifts of a University education which are most to be prized. "A University is a fellowship of spirits, a society of seekers of truth who believe that there are things in life of vastly greater import than wealth and comfort, necessary as these are" (p. 31). Another benefit of high value to be associated with University education is the team spirit which enables young men to work in different fields on a basis of mutual help and co-operation.

Professor Radhakrishnan's book is an able exposition of current problems. He has also shown a great clarity of vision in suggesting how these can be dealt with. He has defined to university students what their ideal should be and how they should pursue it, indicating clearly what part they are expected to play in public life. Radhakrishnan has thrown much light on the meaning of culture, discussing its nature and scope. The book is an illuminating commentary upon current matter, chiefly those having a cultural significance.

S. C. S.

An Enquiry into Moral Notions. By John Laird (Allen and Unwin, 10*s*. 6*d*).

Professor Laird is well known in philosophical circles for the acuteness of his perception of the ambiguities which lurk behind words, and consequently, a good deal of his book is taken up with the analysis of terms and what they mean. And yet it must be admitted that his book presents difficulties even to the professional student of philosophy, for he often uses words and phrases with unexpected meanings. Sometimes the meaning can be detected from the context, but in many cases the reader has no suspicion of such unusual use, and the result is confusion and ambiguity in his mind.

Professor Laird's main interest in this book is the examination of the concepts of virtue, duty and well-being, and to enquire if any *one* of them can serve as *the* foundation of ethics. These are in his opinion the three most important notions in ethical science, but it is doubtful if the three concepts are equally fundamental. It may be plausibly argued that well-being has any place in moral enquiry only so far as it forms an element in our conception of duty or virtue. Well-being as such can hardly be regarded as a good unless we regard it virtuous or obligatory to seek to achieve it. Further his conception of goods that are non-voluntary is not free from ambiguity or objection. What does he mean by saying that some virtues are, in the main, not matters of the will ? It seems that he is here labouring under a confusion, for what he may be taken to imply is perhaps the fact that in many cases we are unable to achieve the ends that we set before ourselves. This however is quite different from saying that in many cases our will has nothing, or little, to do with virtue.

We may largely agree with his criticism of the new intuitionists, for it seems absurd to suggest that many moral obligations have nothing to do with goodness, but on the other hand, he is himself open to the criticism that he has not made it quite clear as to what is the goodness with which moral obligation is connected. What again is the distinction between final goods and axiological goods? If a thing has worth, and is not merely instrumentally good, why should we decline to admit it as a final good? Is it an inheritance from the days when Professor Laird was an ethical unionist?

Professor Laird writes vigorously and provocatively, and that is in itself sufficient justification for adding to the recently growing library of ethical literature in English.

H. K.

Ourselves

[*I. The University and Indian Adult School Movement.—II. Conference with Government.—III. University Extension Lectures.—IV. New Centres for University Examinations.—V. Fellows Re-nominated.—VI. Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholars, 1936.—VII. Debendra Gangopadhyay Medal.—VIII. Basanta Lecturer for 1936.—IX. Basanta Medal for 1936.—X. Next Law and L.T. and B.T. Examinations.—XI. Dates of University Elections.—XII. Results of Law Examinations, July, 1936.*]

I. THE UNIVERSITY AND INDIAN ADULT SCHOOL MOVEMENT.

We are informed that arrangements are being made for a course of lectures to be delivered in this University by Mr. and Mrs. Williams of the British National Adult School Union, who will visit India in autumn. The object of their visit is to found an Indian Adult School Movement. During the last sixteen years they have been engaged in actual Adult School Work in London, and, while in India, they will consult with leading educationists and social workers to obtain a knowledge of the actual situation which will be a guide in making future plans. We are informed that any work that may be done here will be done in a spirit of affection for the Indian people.

* * *

II. CONFERENCE WITH GOVERNMENT.

We understand that a Conference between the University and Government will soon be held to decide upon the form and style of the Vernacular in papers other than Bengali for the Matriculation Examination to be held according to the revised regulations. The undermentioned gentlemen have been appointed representatives of this University at the Conference:—

The Vice-Chancellor.
Prof. Phanindranath Ghose.
Prof. Surendranath Sen.
Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji.
Mr. Charuchandra Bhattacharyya.

* * *

III. UNIVERSITY EXTENSION LECTURES.

Dr. Surendrakisore Chakrabarti, M.A., PH.D., Professor of History, Anandamohan College, Mymensingh, has been invited to deliver a course of three lectures on " The Currency Problems of Ancient India" as an Honorary Reader. The dates of the lectures will be announced later.

* * *

IV. NEW CENTRES FOR UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS.

For the convenience of the examinees, Pabna has been created a Centre for holding the B.Sc. Examination, both Theoretical and Practical, in 1937. We also understand that a Centre at Karimganj (Sylhet) has been renewed for holding the Matriculation Examination in 1937.

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V. FELLOWS RE-NOMINATED.

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to re-nominate the undermentioned gentlemen as Ordinary Fellows of this University:—

Sir Praphullachandra Ray, KT., C.I.E., D.SC., PH.D., F.C.S.
Prof. W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D.LITT., D.D., D.L.
Charuchandra Biswas, Esq., C.I E., M.A., B.L.
Prof. Jnanendranath Mukherjee, D.SC.
Nawabzada A. S. M. Latif-ur-Rahman, M.A. (Cantab.), Barrister-at-Law.

The Fellows have been re-attached to the Faculties to which they were attached and re-appointed members of the Boards of Studies and Committees of which they were members.

* * *

VI. GURUPRASANNA GHOSH SCHOLARS, 1936.

We are glad to announce that the Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholarship for the year 1936 has been awarded to Mr. Bijaykrishna

Bhattacharyya for studying the subject of Sculpture. An additional scholarship for one year has been awarded to Mr. Rabindranath Sen, B.Sc., the subject of his study being "Textiles with reference to the manufacture of tapes, ribbons, lamp, wicks, cords, etc."

* * *

VII. DEBENDRA GANGOPADHYAY MEDAL.

We understand that this University has received an offer of Rs. 700 from Mr. Debendranath Ganguli, B.A., Kabiratna, Bidyabinod for creating an endowment for the annual award of a silver medal to the student who would obtain the highest number of marks in Mathematics Honours on the combined results of B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations.

Mr. Ganguli is to be congratulated for the offer.

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VIII. BASANTA LECTURER FOR 1936.

Major A. C. Chatterjee, I.M.S., Director of Public Health, Bengal, has, we understand, been invited to deliver a course of lectures as Basanta Lecturer of the University for the year 1936. The subject of his lectures is "The Problem of Malaria in Bengal."

* * *

IX. BASANTA MEDAL FOR 1936.

The following subject has been selected for the Basanta Medal for the year 1936 and the last date for submission of essays has been fixed as the 30th April, 1937:—

Bengali Diet—its effect on health.

* * *

X. NEXT LAW AND L.T. AND B.T. EXAMINATIONS.

The commencing dates of the next Law and L.T. and B.T. Examinations have been fixed as follows:—

Law Examinations	Wednesday,	the 6th January,	1937.
L.T. and B.T. Examinations	Thursday,	the 15th April,	1937.

* * *

XI. DATES OF UNIVERSITY ELECTIONS.

We are informed that that the term of office of the undermentioned elected Fellows of the University would expire on the dates mentioned against their names :—

Elected by the Registered Graduates.

Prof. Jnanranjan Banerjea, M.A., B.L.	2nd March, 1937.
Satischandra Ghosh, Esq., M.A.	2nd March, 1937.

Elected by the Faculty of Science

Prof. Praphullachandra Mitter, M.A., PH.D.	13th February, 1937.

Elected by the Faculty of Law.

Manmathanath Ray, Esq., M.A., B.L.	2nd March, 1937.

Elected by the Faculty of Engineering.

Prabhatnath Banerjee, Esq., M.A. (Cantab.), M.I.E. (Ind.).... ...	2nd March, 1937.

The dates of election have been fixed as follows subject to the approval of His Excellency the Chancellor :—

Election by Registered Graduates ...	21st January, 1937.
Election by Faculties	11th January, 1937.

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XII. RESULTS OF LAW EXAMINATIONS, JULY, 1936.

The results of the Law Examinations held in July 1936 have been reported as follows :—

Preliminary Examination in Law.

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 617 of whom 76 were absent.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 541 of whom 301 passed and 240 failed.

Of the successful candidates, 23 were placed in Class I and 278 placed in Class II.

The percentage of pass is 55·63.

Intermediate Examination in Law.

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 406 of whom 38 were absent.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 368 of whom 287 passed and 81 failed.

Of the successful candidates 21 were placed in Class I and 266 placed in Class II.

The percentage of pass is 71·98.

Final Examination in Law.

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 579 of whom 102 were absent.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 477 of whom 353 passed and 124 failed.

Of the successful candidates, 36 were placed in Class I and 317 placed in Class II.

The percentage of pass is 73·79.

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SIR HARI SINGH GOUR, Kt., M.A., D.Litt., D.C.L.,
LL.D., Bar.-at-Law,
Vice-Chancellor, Nagpur University

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW
NOVEMBER, 1936

EUROPE TO-DAY

SIR HARI SINGH GOUR, M.A., D. LITT., D.C.L., LL.D., BAR.-AT.-LAW
Vice-Chancellor, Nagpur University

IN my recent visit to Europe I was singularly lucky in finding the time factor all in my favour, for when I landed at Marseilles on the 24th April last I heard the rumblings of a general election. Influential friends high up in office requested me to give a hand in elucidating the tangled political skein into which the social order of France had got inextricably wrapped up, making it impossible for a man with no pronounced party labels to divine whither it was going.

The country was then, as it is now, sharply divided by the two dominant parties—the Popular Front and the Communists. Communism which received its tangible shape in Carl Marx's work *Das Capital* compiled in 1867, but which lay buried in the dusty archives of the curiosity shops, found its votaries in the Russian Revolutionaries of the Czarist regime whose oppression and terrorism gave a fresh fillip to the movement of the social democrats, who were, however, powerless to take direct action, because they had been disarmed, and they knew the futility of facing the machine guns of the monarchy by nothing better than tooth and claw. A generation passed with an ever-growing race of revolutionaries consigned to the arctic rigours of the Siberian winter and the indescribable horrors of its silver mines. They perished for their faith in the new social doctrine, which they were convinced would transform Russian society and stamp out of it jobbery, corruption and inefficiency, and improve the lot of the common men who were being ground down by heavy taxation and inexorable poverty.

The Great War gave the disarmed malcontents their long looked for opportunity. The law of conscription enacted to form the grand army provided the necessary arms and ammunition to the impoverished peasants. Their massed assemblage in the trenches gave them the opportunity they had so long lacked for confabulation and conspiracy. The German arm drove a wedge through their ranks and threatened the very capital of the empire. The Czar had no alternative but to throw up his hands and sign a separate peace. His armed forces were now on the crossways. They will soon be disabanded and sent back to their farms: what then ? They decided to turn their arms against their hereditary oppressor. Lenin and Trotsky who had fled the country returned to lead the revolution. It established a Dictatorship of the proletariat. This Dictatorship had set before it a world mission, and its seeds were broadcasted throughout the habitable globe.

Of all countries France has always led in social revolutions. Its cry of " Liberty, equality and universal brotherhood " which heralded the French Revolution of 1786 and which proclaims from the foot of its great monument in Paris its soul's desire was easily adapted to the new cult of communism—the only difference between the two being that while the one recognized the right of private property, the other treated it as a relic of mediaeval bourgeodum incompatible with social equality. In France, therefore, Communism had taken root, and on my visit it was easy to see its surging tide sweeping the polls. I heard it preached from a thousand hustings. I watched its discussion in every club, in every casino, in every tavern at every street corner.

The general election proved what we had long anticipated—the return of the Popular Front to power, and M. Blum, the editor of the Communist sheet *Humanite* at its head as the Prime Minister. But this great wave of Communism in France was not without its setback. As I understand France, its people though homogeneous in their composition, still entertain regional differences. In the great industrial centres like Paris and Lyon where the capitalist influence is naturally strong, there is an influential party of conservative republicans who look askance at the new sansculottes of no-property campaign. Behind them stand a small band of Royalists who have not forgotten the glories of monarchical France and whose dethronement from privileged positions has not yet eclipsed their memories of their privileged past, nor destroyed their hope of a similar future. They are comparatively few, probably not more than a million out of the 44 millions of France's population, but their influence must not be judged by their numbers. But between them and the Popular Front there still stand about 20 millions of the republicans who are anti-monarchist, no doubt, but are equally anticommunist. They have been routed at the polls but not yet routed out of their influence in the body politic of France. They are a standing menace to the established Government as also to its doctrinaire head who occupies the shaky chair of the Premier.

At any rate, this is what I was able to glean in my visit of inspection through the mainland of the French Republic, and the lesson I have learnt is that France is to-day strategically much weaker *vis-a-vis* Germany than she was on the eve of the Great War in 1914. But I am equally certain that this is but a passing phase in her political history ; for should another war be forced upon her, France will give as good an account of herself as she did two decades ago. But France had then powerful allies: has she got them now ? That question I was able to answer after my visit to Italy, Austria, Germany and Belgium in all of which countries I was able to study the movements from close quarters.

It just happened that I had crossed over to Rome a week before Benito Mussolini formally announced the annexation of Abyssinia, and I watched the tumultuous cheering which greeted that announcement in the Italian Parliament, or what is left of it. But apart from Abyssinia I found that the Duce's dictatorship has been all to the good of the people of Italy. Rome has been reconstructed and is being re-embellished by the great Mussolini Forum under construction on the drained marshes of Father Tiber which has been canalized, and can, therefore, no longer spread its devastating message of mud and malaria for miles around as she was wont to do, and which is stated to be the one prime cause of the fall of the Roman Empire. I found the people everywhere buoyant and happy, and even in the countryside the vine-yards which had gone to seed in 1929 (when I had last visited it), because America had gone dry, were now thriving everywhere and every Roman had commenced to dream dreams of the return of the departed glory and splendour of his fatherland. I had seen the roads infested with the lazy lazzaronis before, but these were now all harnessed into the service of the State in productive occupations.

They had built roads which were at one time in a scandalous state of disrepair—they had cut new passes through the mountains, built new factories, opened new harbours and dockyards in which pocket battleships, cruisers and submarines were under construction for the " defence " of the empire.

Italy was a veritable busy bee-hive perfecting her military machine, and producing her tonnage to establish her naval supremacy in the Mediterranean which the Italian hoped to make his *mare nostrum* as it was in the days of Scipio Africanus.

Italy was then, as she is now, wobbling between her two great neighbours. She has gone Fascist as is Germany, and the two Dictators have a common aim, and both dream of great empires, the one of her lost colonies overseas, the other of her forgotten greatness. Both countries are forced to over-population, and both are unable to support the burden of new developments and the higher cost of living for which cheap raw materials and large open markets are essential. The conglomeration of circumstances which presaged the Great War are, as it were, returning to the same point in their orbit, and the same feverish uncertainty and panicky preparations are being rushed on in every country. Italy is no exception to the rule. But while she is coquetting with France against Germany, she is seen closeted in solemn conclave with her enemy and seriously discussing with the rectification of frontiers, and the acquisition of new territories overseas. As a great ststesman observed—" Great Britain has by force annexed one-fifth of the globe. She cannot have more. So she is now preaching to us the moral law against the villainy of force."

It is clear that both Hitler and Mussolini are for the repartition of the world, and both appear to have their eyes upon India as a carcass which would yield them fare for a long time to come. The recent activity of the Italian Admiralty in the Red Sea is obviously intended to secure a strategic base for its fleet, while the fortification of Capuarna is another move to secure mastery of the Mediterranean.

But the rapprochement between Italy and Germany must not be taken to be a simple matter; for inspite of the exchange of courteous phrases between the two dictators, the Italians suspect that Germany not only wants her expansion on land, but as Kaiser William declared long ago her fortune lies on the sea ; and Herr Hitler in inviting Italy to give a hand in the shaping of European policy knows that he is inviting the fly to walk into his parlour, which Mussolini knows too well. The recent pact between Germany and Austria was talked of in political circles in June and treated by international diplomats as a thin end of the wedge. Mussolini has boasted that he has eight million troops to take the field, but they will be an embarrassment to him if an aerial armada with one fell swoop plants the Swastika on the capital.

The international situation is complex and kaleidoscopic in its daily moves, but I think the Duce too shrewed and level-headed a man to fall into the easy trap of Germany.

I was in Austria and met many of its leading men. I was invited to deliver a course of lectures to the University and attended several conversations where the future of Austria was discussed.

To me Austria appears like the god Ganesh, a small human body poising the head of an elephant—that head being its capital Wien. That capital was laid out by the Emperor of Austro-Hungary, and now that Austria has shrunk into a small principality the head still remains and draws all nutrition at the expense of the body. That phenomenon sums up Austria's plight and policy. Its coffers are empty, its morality very low, and its politics oscillate between the Catholic autocracy whose nominee is its present President and the labour vote which is in suspense, because the democratic constitution itself has been suspended, and the Parliament building closed down.

The transition from Austria to Germany was like transfer from a cemetery to a citadel. In Berlin I saw New Germany in the making. Thanks to the hospitality of the Government I was able to see Germany at her best. I had visited that country seven years before when the country was passing through its nadir of depression. The rise of the Nazis and the emergence of Adolph Hitler to power has destroyod all its traditional landmarks, bringing into the foreground the spirit of the nation which had been held in check by their obscure objective. Hitler has brought a new life to Germany as Mussolini has brought it to Italy. The great boulevard of Berlin, *Unter der Linden,* is perhaps one typical example of a resurgent nation. From the Kaiserhof where I was lodged and where Herr Hitler lived before he assumed the Dictatorial responsibility of New Germany and to which he still repairs for his occasional coffee, one could take stock of the heart of Germany. It is impossible to describe it within the limits of a single article ; nor is it perhaps politic to do so in public print. But he who runs cannot fail to see that the Germany of to-day is far more powerful than Germany that threw down its gauntlet to the civilized world in the dark days of the Great War.

Aeronautics was in its infancy twenty years ago. Science was taken as a mere hobby and not a business as it has since become. The chemical industries has made giant strides and everywhere I saw all the revelations of the new age turned to a single purpose—the perfection of the military machine. What could it all be for, unless Germany intends to retrieve the humiliation of the Versailles treaty which rankles in the breast of the high and the low, the young and the old alike.

We hear of Herr Hitler's demand of his lost dominions. But should they be all returned to-morrow, would Germany sheathe her sword and settle down to the peaceful pursuits of her industrial development ? It does not seem likely. That Germany is now self-conscious of her own supremacy in the field of science and art—*Deutsche Deutsche uber alles*—and wishes to be the dictator of the world, is only the barest truth, and it is at once the omen of her strength and of her weakness.

In the March issue of this magazine I had contributed an article on the Renaissance of the East. In the article I had traced the causes which ushered in modern Europe with its constitutional monarchies and controlled sacerdotal authority. The opening years of the present century started with a ferment against both as the relics of medievalism which the Renaissance had merely scotched but did not destroy, and an intellectual movement in favour of a thorough-going democracy and a church free from the cant of religious hypocrisy. The movement was still confined to the academies, till its pace was forced by the Great War, when the proletariat drawn to the colours visualized both monarchies and religion in action. They turned away from both as exploded institutions started and kept alive by designing self-seeking men. The cleansing-up of the old system was followed by the overthrow of monarchy and institutional religion throughout the Continent of Europe.

Europe is now in the pangs of a neo-renaissance. All its institutions are in the melting pot. A strong reaction against the extreme form of democracy has resulted in the discomfiture of democracy itself; and most of Europe is now under the rule of dictators. The parliamentary institutions are discredited as slow and evolving a policy of the ignorant rabble. A wise dictator is the best of parliaments but he must be wise, let the people beware. The conflict between democracy and autocracy will probably result in the ultimate triumph of the former, but for the nonce all central and southern Europe is in the hands of its dictators, and so will probably be Spain before these lines appear in print.

In the region of religion the neo-renaissance has taken a different turn. The authority of the Church has been rudely shaken, and at the present moment Spain is butchering bishops with the same gust as England used to burn the witches only a century ago. In Italy which is the seat of the Papal throne I found the Church dignitaries shaking their heads at the mention of religion. It is clear that the days of Christianity are numbered, and with it will disappear all institutional religions. But man can never live without religion. He will invent new gods when the old ones have died a natural death, as have the Vedic gods long ago.

A strong movement is afoot to fashion a universal religion. One is to reconcile all the institutional religions by extracting from them a common measure of agreement, and another is to create a new universal cult with or without the postulation of god. I had a long discussion with some of the leading lights of Germany and their view appeared to favour the adoption of a rationalist faith, such as Buddhism is, without a god, without priests and without a heaven to bless or a hell to damn its followers. But as one of them said to me: "Buddhism is a great religion, but it is a pacifist, which will never do for Nazi Germany."

There is no certain direction in which the religious revolt is moving; but one thing is certain: Europe is thoroughly agitated as must be any country on the eve of its renaissance. I believe that the next war for which all countries are now feverishly preparing cannot be staved off for long. I should be surprised if we do not see a great conflagration before two years are out. That conflagration might be delayed but it cannot be averted ; and when it does come it will not make the world any happier than it has been in the past; nor is the sum total of world's happiness ever to be augmented by the cult of force. But " Force," said Herr Hitler, is the only chastener of mankind.

THE CHARACTER OF ENGLISH POETRY

SRI AUROBINDO
Pondicherry.

THE Teutonic nations have been conspicuous by their silence or the rarity of their speech in the field of poetical literature. In Germany there was a brief period of strong productive culture in which the great names of Goethe and Heine rise out of a mass of more or less vigorous verse talent rather than poetical genius, and after them again silence ; in the North the solitary genius of Ibsen. Holland, another Teutonic country which developed an art of a considerable but a wholly objective power, is mute in poetry. It would almost seem that there is still something too thick and heavy in the strength and depth of the Teutonic composition for the ethereal light and fire of the poetic word to make its way freely through the intellectual and vital envelope. What has saved the English mind from a like taciturnity ? Certainly, it must have been the mixture of racial elements, sublimating the material temperament, with the submerged Celtic genius coming in as a decisive force to liberate and uplift the poetic spirit. And as a necessary aid we have the unique historical accident of the reshaping of a Teutonic tongue by French and Latinistic influences which gave it clearer and more flowing forms and turned it into a fine though difficult linguistic material sufficiently malleable, sufficiently plastic for poetry to produce her larger and finer effects, sufficiently difficult to compel her to put forth her greatest energies. A stuff of speech which, without being harsh and inapt, does not tempt by too great a facility, but offers a certain resistance in the material, increases the strength of the artist by the measure of the difficulty conquered and can be thrown into shapes at once of beauty and of concentrated power. That is eminently the character of the English language.

And once supposing a predominantly Anglo-Saxon national mind to express itself in poetry, we should, ignoring for a moment the Celtic emergence, expect the groundwork to be a strong objective poetry, a powerful presentation of the forms of external life, action and character in action, the pleasant or melancholy outsides of Nature, the robust play of the will and the passions, a vigorous vital and physical verse. Even we might look for a good deal of deviation into subjects and motives for which prose will always be the more adequate and characteristic instrument, nor should we be surprised at a self-styled Augustan age which would make them the greater part of its realm and indulge with a self-satisfied contentment in a "criticism" of external life, the poetry of political and ecclesiastical controversy, didactic verse, satire. There would be considerable power of narrative and a great energy in the drama of character and incident, but a profounder use of the narrative and dramatic forms would not be looked for ; at most we might have in the end the dramatic analysis of character. Both the greater and more profound and the subtler intensities of style and rhythm would be absent ; but there would be a boldly forcible or a well-beaten energy of speech and much of the more metallic vigours of verse. This side of the national mind would prepare us for English poetry as it was until Chaucer and beyond, the ground-type of the Elizabethan drama, the work of Dryden and Pope, the whole mass of eighteenth-century verse, Cowper, Scott, Wordsworth in his more outward moments, Byron without his Titanism and unrest, the poetry of Browning. For these we need not go outside the Anglo-Saxon temperament.

That also would give, but subject to a potent alchemy of transformation, the basic form and substance of most English poetry. That alchemy we can fairly attribute to the submerged Celtic element which emerges, as time goes on, in bright upstreamings and sometimes in exceptional outbursts of power. The various commingling or separating of these two elements marks the whole later course of the literature and they present as their effect a side of failure and defect and a side of achievement. There are evidently two opposite powers at work in the same field, often compelled to labour in the same mind at a common production, and when two such opposites can coalesce, seize each other's motives and become one, the very greatest achievement becomes possible. For they fill in each other's deficiencies, light each other up with a new light and bring in a fresh revelation which neither by itself could have been accomplished. The greatest things in English poetry have come where this fusion was effected in the creative mind and soul of the poet. But that could not always be done and there arises an uncertainty of motive, an unsureness of touch, an oscillation. We must expect inequality in all human work, but not necessarily on this scale or with so frequent and extensive a falling below what should be the normal level.

To the same uncertainty may be attributed the abrupt starts and turns of the course of English poetry, its want of conscious continuity. The revolutions of the spirit of English poetry are of an astonishing decisiveness and abruptness. We can mark off first the early English poetry which found its solitary greater expression in Chaucer ; indeed it marks itself off by an absolute exhaustion and cessation. The magnificent Elizabethan outburst has another motive, spirit, manner of expression, which seems to have nothing to do with the past; it is self-born under the impulse of a new age and environment. As this dies away, we have the lonely figure of Milton with his strenuous effort at an intellectual poetry cast in the type of the ancients. The age which succeeds is that of a trivial intellectuality which does not follow the lead of Milton and is the exact contrary of the Elizabethan form and spirit, the thin and arid reign of Pope and Dryden. Another violent breaking away, a new outburst of wonderful freshness, gives us the poetry of Wordsworth, Keats, Shelley, Blake with another spirit and another language of the spirit. The Victorian period did not deny their influences ; it felt them in the form of its work, and we might have expected it to have gone forward with what had been only a great beginning that did not arrive at its full fruition. But it did nothing of the kind ; it deviated into a new way which has nothing to do with the finer spirit of the preceding poets and fell off into an intellectual, artistic, carefully wrought, but largely external poetry. And now we have this age which is still trying to find itself, but in its most characteristic tendencies seems to be a rejection of the Victorian forms and motives. These reversals and revolutions of the spirit are not in themselves a defect or a disability; they simply mean that English poetical literature has been a series of bold experiments less shackled by the past than in countries which have a stronger sense of cultural tradition. Revolutions are distracting things, but they are often good for the human soul ; for they bring a rapid opening of new horizons.

Here comes in the side of success and achievement. By the natural law of compensation it is gained by a force which answers to the defects and limitations ; it has those for its price. For nowhere else has individual genius found so free a field, been able to work so directly out of itself and follow so boldly its own line of poetic adventure. Form is a great power, but sureness of form is not everything. A strong tradition of form gives a sure ground upon which genius can work in safety and be protected from its own wanderings; but it limits and stands in the way of daring individual adventure. The spirit of adventure, if its path is strewn with accidents, stumblings or fatal casualties, brings, when it does succeed, new revelations which are worth all the price paid for them. English poetry is full of such new revelations. Its richness, its constant freshness, its lavish expenditure of genius exulting in freedom, delivered from all meticulous caution, its fire and force of imagination, its lambent energy of poetic speech, its constant self-liberation into intensest beauty of self-expression are the rewards of its courage and its liberty. These things are of the greatest value in poetry. They lead besides to possibilities which are of the highest importance to the poetry of the future.

We may briefly anticipate and indicate in what manner. We have to accept one constant tendency of the spirit of English poetry, which loves to dwell with all its weight upon the presentation of life and action, of feeling and passion, to give that its full force and to make it the basis and the source and, not only the point of reference, but the utility of all else. This objective and external turn might be strong enough in some other arts;—fiction, for instance, or sculpture,—to create a clear national tradition and principle of form, but not easily in poetry. For here the mere representation of life cannot be enough, however vivid or subjected to the law of poetic beauty it may be. Poetry must drive at least at a presentation from within and not at simple artistic reproduction, and the principle of presentation must be something more than that of the eye on the visible object. It is by a process from within, a passing of it through some kind of intimately subjective vision that life is turned into poetry. If this subjective medium is the inspired reason or the intuitive mind, the external presentation of life gives place inevitably to an interpretation, a presentation in which its actual lines are either neglected or subordinated in order that some inner truth of it may emerge. But in English poetry the attempt is to be or at least to appear true to the actual lines of life, to hold up a mirror to Nature. It is the mirror then which has to do the poetising of life; the vital, the imaginative, the emotional temperament of the poet is the reflecting medium and it has to supply unaided the creative and poetical element. We have then a faithfully unfaithful reflection which always amounts to a transformation, because the temperament of the poet lends to life and Nature its own hues, its own lines, its own magnitudes. But the illusion of external reality, of an "imitation" of Nature is created,—the illusion which has been for so long a first canon of Western artistic conceptions,—and the English mind which carries this tendency to an extreme, feels then that it is building upon the safe foundation of the external and the real ; it is satisfied of the earth even when it is singing in the heavens.

But this sole reliance on the temperament of the poet has certain strong results. It gives an immense importance to individuality, much greater than that which it must always have in poetical creation; the transformation of life and Nature in the individuality becomes almost the whole secret of this poetry. Therefore English poetry is much more powerfully and consciously personal and individual than that of any other language, aims much less directly at the impersonal and universal.

Three general characteristics emerge. The first is a constant reference and return of the higher poetical motives to the forms of external life as if the enriching of that life were its principal artistic aim. The second is a great force of subjective individuality and personal temperament as a leading power of the poetic creation. The third is a great intensity of speech and ordinarily of a certain kind of direct vision. But in the world's literature generally these are the tendencies that have been on the increase and two of them at least are likely to be persistent. There is everywhere a considerable stressing of the individual subjective element, a drift towards making the most of the poet's personality, an aim at a more vivid response and the lending of new powers of colour and line from within to the vision of life and Nature, a search for new intensities of word and rhythm which will translate into speech a deeper insight. In following out the possible lines of the future the defect of the English mind is its inability to follow the higher motives disinterestedly to their deepest and largest creative results, but this is being remedied by new influences. The entrance of the pure Celtic temperament into English poetry through the Irish revival is likely to do much ; the contribution of the Indian mind in work like Tagore's may act in the same direction.

If this change is effected, the natural powers of the English spirit will be of the highest value to the future poetry. For that poetry is likely to move to the impersonal and universal, not through the toning down of personality and individuality, but by their heightening to a point where they are liberated into the impersonal and universal expression. Subjectivity is likely to be its greater power, the growth to the universal subjective enriched by all the forces of the personal soul-experience. The high intensity of speech which English poetry has brought to bear upon all its material, its power of giving the fullest and richest value to the word and the image, is needed for the expression of the values of the spiritual, which will be one of the aims of higher intuitive utterance. The Elizabethan poet wrote in the spacious days of its first birth into greatness,

> Or who can tell for what great work in hand
> The greatness of our style is now ordained ?
> What powers it shall bring in, what spirits command ?

It has since brought in many powers, commanded many spirits ; but it may be that the richest powers, the highest and greatest spirit yet remain to be found and commanded.[1]

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[1] Compiled by Mr. Anilbaran Ray from Aurobindo's " The Future Poetry."

THE RIGHT TO ASYLUM

MADAME ELLEN HÖRUP
[International Committee for India, Geneva]

[In the following article Ellen Hörup makes some comments on the two Conferences recently held in connection with the right to asylum.]

TWO Conferences have been held with the object of alleviating the plight of political refugees. The first was the international Conference on the Right to Asylum held in Paris on the 20-21 June. This Conference was held in order to do the preparatory work before the Government Conference on the 2nd of July. Thirty-six out of the 127 organisations represented were in favour of human rights, culture, and philosophy. The Honorary President was George Lansbury, the former leader of the English Labour Party, who tried in vain to get the workers not to support war which was none the less imperialist because it was declared by the League of Nations.

It was a representative gathering from all countries which in the name of justice demanded that refugees should be treated as human beings too. Or as a man named Vattel expressed it as far back as 200 years ago: 'A person does not cease to be human because he is exiled or excommunicated. In consequence he does not lose his right to live somewhere or other on the earth, a right he has from the hand of nature.'

The President of the Catalonian Parliament, J. Casanova, proposed that the following demands should be debated at the Conference: Identification Papers. Prohibition against expulsion or sending back of anti-fascist refugees. Illimited right to work, since the right to asylum without the right to work does not mean any real right. Freedom to fight politically for a return to their Fatherland and lastly, admission to the cultural and social life of the country of refuge.

The resolution which the Conference unanimously passed was practically the same and may be briefly summarised " that the right to asylum ought to give political refugees the same privileges and duties as the citizens of the the country of refuge."

At the Government Conference, as is so often the case with that kind of conference, it was a matter of paper and nothing else resulted.

Instead of giving each recognised political refugee who was without passport, the right to such papers as are necesssry for the existence of every human being, the matter was bungled at the outset by the definition: " As a refugee that can be dealt with under this arrangement is reckoned everyone who comes from Germany and has lived there, who is not in possession of any other nationality than German and who neither DE FACTO nor DE JURE enjoys the protection of the German Government."

Thereby the Conference excluded all those whom the new Nazi legislation has made 'without national status.' All those for example who have lived all their lives in Germany but belonged legally to another nation although they possibly have not had the least connection with the country where they were originally born. And also all refugees who are still in possession of a valid German passport even if that passport does not give them the slightest protection either in or out of Germany are treated as being under German protection and thus not entitled to any other.

After having noted who will be excluded already in the first chapter, one turns to the second and sees to one's astonishment that "refugees who come from Germany with their papers in order (*i.e.*, in possession of passports) and stay in foreign territory are entitled to the certificate." Possibly it means, when their passport has expired, but it does not say so.

To ordinary mortals Chapter 2 states the contrary of what is contained in Chapter 1. Those who HAVE a passport which is no passport are reckoned as protected by that passport although it is not so and therefore they get no certificate of identity. Here it is the possession of a passport which precludes time. But in Chapter 2 it is the lack of it which does so. Those refugees whose passport has been confiscated by the German Government and who have therefore had to escape illegally from their own country into another get no certificate because they have not got a German passport.

All this appears to be as if it were out of consideration for the German Government rather than out of that for the protection of German refugees. *Journal Des Nations*, that expert in League of Nation's style, has indeed also discovered that the intention is " that the door shall remain open for administrative settlement with regard to the refugees who have crossed the frontier in illegal ways."

But with the door open, all right to protection for the German refugees in the most difficult positions, is made dependent upon the relations of the country of asylum with the German Government. For through that door will go not only the administrative settlement but the pressure of the German Government upon the administration of the country of asylum.

What German refugee will then get that certificate with which the whole Conference was concerned ? So far as one can understand it is only obtainable by those who cross the frontier WITH a passport which expires later on while they are abroad. And what do the chosen ones who obtain it get ? They have the right to live where they like in the country of asylum, right to come in again when they have been outside it, and they cannot be expelled unless they have done something unlawful in the country itself and under no circumstances can they be returned to Germany.

The Polish delegate said about the result of the Conference: "We have got a formula which is all too narrow, full of legal chicanery, which has nothing to do with the real state of affairs."

Without country and without passport, without rights and without work,—that is the position of the German political refugees after the Conference as it was before it. And it is a great question whether it had not helped them better to have re-introduced the strong chains which Casanova says are still to be found in single Spanish cloisters and Churches as the symbol of the medieval right to sanctuary. He who was pursued and succeeded in touching them, was saved.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF INDIAN SOCIALISM AND FEMINISM

BY BENOYKUMAR SARKAR.

INDIAN WORKING MEN.

AT the most liberal computation the total " industrial " workers of India in 1931 were not more than 5,000,000 constituting nearly 1·4 per cent. of the population (353,000,000). The percentages would be nearly 2·5-3·0 in Japan, 10·7 in the United Kingdom and 15·5 in Germany.[1] The relative strength or weakness of Indian labour is manifest in these proportions.

In 1927 not more than 407,000 working men were unionized. This included some 100,000 members of the All-India Trade Union Congress. We get, therefore, 13 per 10,000 of the total population as against, say, 38 in Japan, 594 in Russia, 1,051 in the U.K. and 1,295 in Germany. Indian working men, then, whether individually or unionally, cannot be regarded as constituting a " great power " in Indian societal economy or polity.

The labour movement strictly so-called is a post-war phenomenon in India. It can be traced back to the eighties of the last century among the cotton workers of Bombay. But the first All-India Trade Union Congress was not held before 1920 (Bombay).

The first Trade Union Act was passed in India in 1926. For the purposes of socio-economic equation as may be established between Asia and Eur-America it is worthwhile to observe that the first corresponding Act was passed in Italy in 1890, in France in 1884, in England during 1871-76 and in Germany in 1869. We must not, however, overlook the consideration that in Europe much preparatory and transitional work in trade union legislation had been gone through during the first half of the nineteenth century. These circumstances enable us to visualize the " social distance " between India and the more advanced sections of Europe as registered in the chronology of labour legislation.[1]

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[1] B. K. Sarkar, *Social Insurance Legislation and Statistics. A Study in the Labour Economics and Business Organization of Neo-Capitalism* (Calcutta, 1936), pp. 16, 18, 48, 56.
In 1993 the members of registered unions thought Indian were numbered at 237,369 (*Bombay Labour Gazette*, August, 1934, pp. 894-896).

In India the first Factory Act was passed in 1881. For England the corresponding date is 1801. The latest Indian Act is that of 1934 which, thanks among other things to constant association with the International Labour Conference (Geneva) since 1919, has been equipped with large doses of liberalizing features.

The present status of Indian labour may be seen from an examination of some of the clauses of the Indian Factories Act of 1934 especially in regard to women workers and child labour.[2]

The number of women employed in factories, however, is not high. But the importance of factory population, both male and female, lies in the fact that it is partly through this section that India is becoming industrialized and rising in the scale of modern technocracy and culture.

Legislation regarding female labour commenced in the year 1891 and subsequently it was improved by the Acts of 1911 and 1922 and then by the amended Acts of 1926, 1928 and 1934. The Mines Acts of 1923 and 1928 have attempted to improve the condition considerably. Generally the Factories Acts have tried to minimise the period of labour and to assure hours of rest as well as to control the abuse of labour by prohibiting night work. The Act of 1928 has tried to eliminate female labour from mines altogether. The principle is being enforced gradually. It is to be adopted completely by the year 1939.

Regarding the fixing of age, it may be emphasised that the minimum age for the employment of female labour ought to be statutory. This should not be left to be governed by the general provision of the children and young persons clause. The minimum age for female labour should perhaps be fixed at the seventeenth year.

The condition of female labour is not very secure anywhere in the world, especially in India. Legislation as to the minimum wage is an imperative necessity. In determining the minimum wage, the living wage is to be calculated after considering various circumstances like the standard of living, skill of labour, etc. From the viewpoints of morality and health women should be protected from dangerous work. We may instance the prohibition of female labour in some more poison-manufacturing works than those which are already forbidden. The prohibition of female labour under certain age in outdoor enterprises is absolutely necessary. We have to observe, in any case, that a social problem is created automatically because the men workers came, as a rule, from outside the province of their employment and without their wives. It is important to observe that heavy work, load-lifting and the like, as done by the Chinese and Japanese women, are not allowed in the U.S.A.

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[1] *Freedom of Association* (Geneva), Vol. II (1927), pp. 10-13, 92-96, Vol. III. (1928), pp. 2, 11. Foignet, *Legislation Industrielle* (Paris, 1925), p. 30.

[2] Discussion on P. K. Mukherjee's papers "Indian Women Workers" and "Child Labour in India and Abroad" at the *Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Economics, Calcutta), reported in *Forward*, 8th February and *Advance*, 16th July, 1936. See *Arthik Unnati* (Economic Progress), February-March, 1935.

The Act of 1934 is not only a consolidating one but provides also some additional measures for the protection of labour. Chapter III which relates to health and safety is especially valuable. The powers conferred on the Local Government, especially those in connexion with "hazardous occupations" have bearings on women and may prove to be beneficial. But the immediate need of the country is the enactment of Maternity Benefit Acts on the Bombay plan throughout India. Besides, a larger dose of protection both for men and women is required such as may be rendered available only when Health Insurance legislation is enacted.

According to the Act of 1934 the Government is authorized to require the factories to reserve a room for the use of women employees' children under six years of age. This is good so far as it goes. But the standard of child welfare has risen very high in the world.

In modern morality and legislation the care of the child belongs not so much to the parents and the family as to community and the country. The Hindu poet Kalidasa's conception of "the king being the real father, the parents being simply the causes of birth" *(sa pitā pitarastāsām kevalam janmahetavah)* has thus become an institution of positive law.

Modern legislation is as old as the industrial revolution, factory-system and capitalism (*c.* 1785-1800). It is in and through diverse Acts bearing on education, health, punishment, and factories that this modernism, involving as it does state control of or communism in children, has been brought about. The British Children's Act of 1908 has been followed by several such Acts in India, for example, the Bengal Children's Act of 1922. The Indian Factories Act of 1934 also has certain measures, as already hinted at, quite favourable to children.

The number of factories has increased from 5,000 in 1922 to over 8,000 but the employment of children has gone down from 68,000 to 27,000. This is a desirable consummation.

According to the latest Factory Act (1934) in India, the child is a boy or girl under 15. But children can be employed at the commencement of the 13th year. Night work has been forbidden as well as double employment. The British legislation is more restrictive as it forbids employment under 14. But in regard to delivery of newspapers, milk, parcels, etc., employment is permitted in the U. K. to boys and girls between 12 and 14. In Egypt, on the other hand, employment is permitted to boys and girls even between 9 and 12.

In spite of improvements effected in children's lot by legislation double employment still persists in certain areas. Besides, the pledging of children by parents continues to some extent to be a reality of economic India. Stricter legislation as well as more effective enforcement of the Acts would be required to remove this kind of child-slavery, mild or otherwise, wherever it exists.

Unless elementary education is rendered compulsory it would not be possible to control child labour successfully. But in the mean time some of the tea plantations in Assam have made provisions for the care of children and of working men in general.

Attention has to be invited to the problems of leisure and recreation such as would be necessitated by the removal of children from mills, mines and workshops as well as by the adoption of shorter hours. In this connection we have to note the activities of the International Congress for Leisure and Recreation (*Weltkongress fuer Freizeit und Erholung*) which held its second session in July at Hamburg (first session, Los Angeles, U. S. A., 1932). The problem has not arrested India's serious notice up till now.

It is necessary to repeat that per head of population and per square mile of territory Indian labour is not yet a considerable power in economic or social relations. In politics also it cannot function as yet in a remarkable manner. But some of the *modernisms* in " ideology " have already established themselves among the labour *intelligentsia*. A section of Indian labour leaders has affiliations with the Second International (" moderate," socialistic) of Amsterdam. The " communistic " or radical (" extremist ") Third International (Moscow), the Comintern, seems likewise to have influence with a wing of the Indian workers and their champions. These circumstances have contributed to the diversification and enrichment of politics with fresh categories not only in connection with the Indian National Congress and other " private " political bodies but even with the Government politics as embodied in the Legislative Assemblies and Councils as well as municipal, district board, union board and corporation politics.

The affiliations of labour to Indian politics are at any rate not clear. Something like a Labour Swarajya Party was established in 1925. Two years later the Peasants and Workers' Party made its appearance. As " organizations " these so-called parties perhaps do not possess substantial value. But they furnish factual indices to the new currents such as inspire the mentality and activity of growing sections of the *intelligentsia* as well as of the working men.

The growth of the working men in self-consciousness, no matter how small their number in absolute or relative statistics and how backward in comparative or international socialism, is an outstanding reality of the last decade or so. In the meantime has grown up such a thing as factual democracy and positive socialism in and through the Government of India Act (1935). The Lower Houses of the Provinces as well as the Lower Chamber of the Federal Government have provided for the representation of labour through its own representatives.

When even under Government auspices socialism of some type or other is becoming a constitutional reality it is but inevitable that ideologists like Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhaschandra Bose and other political leaders such as in the main stay away from the official atmosphere should pitch their ambitions much higher and sigh for the highest that is yet to come.

The establishment in 1936 of a Labour Party or rather of a socialistic wing in the *milieux* of the Indian National Congress as well as the Indian Legislative Assembly is but in keeping with all these consummations, positive-constitutional and idealistic. For India's chronological distance from the pioneers of labour-democracy and socialism it is worth while to recall that the British Labour Party was formally established in 1906, the *Fédération Nationale des Syndicats* of France in 1886 (growing finally into the *Confédération Générale du Travail*, 1895), the Amerian Federation of Labour in 1881 and the *Sozialdemokratische Partei* of Germany in 1875.[1] It is at least by two generations that the economics and politics of Indian labour as of other Indian classes are behind the " adults " of the modern world.

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[1] B. K. Sarkar, *The Political Philosophies snce 1905* (Madras, 1928), pp. 71-85, 204-213.

The ideals and realities of socialism as developed in India since the Great War have to be envisaged in the background of some concrete and objective facts of the socio-economic world. Developments in technocracy, industrialism, capitalistic enterprises, joint-stock concerns, banking and insurance institutions constitute some of the great forces of the day. Strikes and agitation on the part of the working men, judicial trials bearing on the violation of law, and so forth have grown into common occurrences. The five amendments of the Factories Acts (922, 1923, 1926, 1931, 1934) point inevitably to the rising tide of socialism on the one hand as of capitalism on the other.[1] Then there are the thousand and one contacts of Indian leaders, cultural,—political, economic and labour, with the world-forces in Eur-America and Japan, such as have succeeded in injecting ideas of neo-capitalism and neo-socialism, not to speak of radical labour ideology into the mentality of India and her journalistic and academic complex. Last but not least have to be singled out the world-propaganda carried on by the International Labour Office of Geneva since 1919 as well as the deliberations and *Report* of the Royal Commission on Labour in India (1929-31) which have served as powerful formative forces in the establishment of the Indian labour-mind.

THE AIMS AND METHODS OF INDIAN FEMINISM

The establishment of the Indian Women's University at Poona by D. G. Karve in 1916 is an important landmark in the progress of womanhood in India. Another landmark is to be seen in the enactment of the Sarda Act in 1929 which fixes the minimum age of marriage for girls at 14 and of boys at 18. Child marriage has thus

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[1] B. K. Sarkar, *The Pressure of Labour upon Constitution and Law*, 1776-1928 (Jnanmandal, Benares, 1928). S. C. Dutt, "Colliery Labourers in the Jharia Field' (*Journal of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce*, 1929), "Tea Industry in Assam" (*Arthik Unnati*, Calcutta 1929), "Unempolyment Problem in Great Britain" (*J.B.N.C.*, 1930), *Dhana-Vijnāne Sākreti* (Apprenticeship in Economic Science, Calcutta 1932) and *Conflicting Tendencies in Indian Economic Thought* (Calcutta, 1934) ; K. C. Basu : " Workingmen's Compensation" (*Arthik Unnati*, 1930), " The Earnings and Expenses of Indian Workingmen" (*A.U.*, 1933); P. K. Mukherjee : " International Labour Legislation" (*A.U.*, 1934) ; R. N. Ghose, " Labour and Wages in Japan," a lecture at the " Malda in Calcutta" Society, December 27, 1934 (A. U., 1935).

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been restrained to some extent by positive legislation. Womens' societies, clubs, schools and journals conducted in the main by women themselves have grown into the principal features of Indian society since the end of the Great War (1914-18).

For certain purposes the All-India Women's Conference which held its first session at Poona in 1927 may be taken as the sample of women's creative endeavours in India at the present moment. Not all the activities of the women are directly or indirectly associated with this Conference, equipped although it is with 39 constituent and 79 subconstituent associations. But it can by all means be used as an index to the quality, quantity and variety of life's urges to which Indian womanhood, especially among the economically favoured classes, has been reacting in a conspicuous manner.

The ten sessions [1] held up till now are enumerated below with the names of the Presidents:

1. 1927. Poona. Her Highness the Maharani of Baroda.
2. 1928. Delhi. Her Highness the Begum Mother of Bhopal.
3. 1929. Patna. Her Highness the Dowager Rani of Mandi.
4. 1930. Bombay. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu of Bombay.
5. 1931. Lahore. Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi of Madras.
6. 1932. Madras. Mrs. P. K. Ray of Calcutta.
7. 1933. Lucknow. Lady Ramanbhai Nilkanth of Ahmedabad.
8. 1934. Calcutta. Lady Abdul Quadir of Punjab.
9. 1935. Karachi. Mrs. Rustomji Faridoonji of Bombay.
10. 1935. Dec. 25—1936, Jan. 4. Travancore. Her Highness the Maharani of Travancore.

Feminism, as organized in the All-India Women's Conference, is in its ideals and achievements a noteworthy specimen of contemporary creative India. It is indeed a chip of the world-feminism of to-day and furnishes but another link in the chain of modern values, social and spiritual, such as serve to establish a liaison between the East and the West. The lines of evolution embodied in Indian feminism young as it is, are but following at some chronological distance those traversed by the adult Eur-American feminism during the previous decades. And this is but in keeping with the socio-cultural equations between India and the pioneers of modernism in the West.

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[1] All-India Women's Conference ; Tenth Session (Trivandrum 1936), pp. 13, 243-253. See also the Memorandum on the Statues of Women in India submitted to the League of Nations by the All-India Women's Conference and the Women's Indian Association (Madras).

The very fact that feminism like many other modernisms has arisen in Eur-America is an index to the great reality that the womanhood of the West was not used to equality or identity of rights and obligations with the other sex. And the age of Western feminism also can be told within precise limits. The publication of the *Subjection of Women* by John Stuart Mill places the female suffrage movement towards the beginning of the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century. Joseph-Barthélemy's *Le Vote des Femmes* (Paris, 1920), as an anti-feminist treatise, serves to point out that feminism has not yet been able to conquer a great part of the Western world. *La Vita Femminile* of Rome is a monthly organ which establishes in an emphatic manner the absence of universal or even somewhat general appreciation of the ideals and methods of feminists in Eur-America. France, Italy and Spain, to mention a few countries, do not see eye to eye with England in regard to the claims of feminism. Teutonic (Anglo-Saxon) America again, cannot be taken as the representative of Latin America, in this regard. The latter follows France, Spain and Italy in the main. Nay, in the U. S. A. there are States, say, like Alabama, where guardianship of children belongs by law exclusively to the father. The mother cannot there become the guardian of children. In the New England States the wife's earnings belong by law not to herself but to her husband.[1]

That the Indian women, especially among the *intelligentsia*, bourgeoisie or upper ten thousands, have already succeeded in assimilating the categories of world-feminism shows only that the womanhood of India, in part at any rate, as in Eur-America, can be depended upon as constructive workers and thinkers in schemes of world-wide importance for mankind. We need not overlook the consideration that women in India have perhaps some special disabilities. But it is entirely wrong to believe that the total womanhood of India lives in seclusion, behind the veil (*purdah*). In reality, Indian women are active as economic agents as their sisters anywhere on earth. Indeed, thirty per cent. of total Indian womanhood is gainfully employed. This is a much higher percentage than in Italy,

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[1] B. K. Sarkar, *Ekaler Dhana-Daulat O Arthashastra* (The Wealth and Economics of Our Own Times), Vol. I (1930), pp. 66-68, *Naya Banglar Goda Pattan* (The Foundations of a New Bengal), Vol. I, (1932), pp. 153-157.

Hungary, Sweden, England, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Austria, U.S.A., Japan, Canada, Spain and many other countries. Just a few countries like Switzerland, Germany, Finland, Norway, France, Poland and Bulgaria yield a higher percentage in this field than India.[1]

Women in India, economically speaking, are not idlers. Nor is the *purdah* important enough,—for the masses of the population—to be counted as a factor in the employment market. In certain parts of Northern India, and especially among the Mussalmans,—the *purdah* is a social evil and deserves to be condemned as militating against physical health and moral personality. But altogether, the *purdah* may be taken to affect a very small section of the population. In any case, the movement to get it abolished belongs, as it should rightly do, to the irreducible minimum of social reform as championed by the womanhood of India.

As may be naturally expected, the attack on *purdah* has been a regular feature of the sessions of the Conference. Some of the other items in which the Conference has been interested during the decade are being detailed in the following statement, based, chiefly, as it is on the *Report* of the tenth session (Trivandrum, 1936).

A special committee was appointed to inquire into and suggest adequate remedies for the legal disabilities of woman (pp. 148, 167, 168). These disabilities refer in the main to marriage and inheritance. The Marriage Dissolution Bill as proposed by Hari Singh Gour has received in the main the support of the Conference. They consider the practice of divorce as prevalent among the Mussalmans to be inequitable in so far as it enables the husband to divorce his wife arbitrarily at his sweet will. It is also considered by them to be not in accord with the principles of Islam.

In regard to the establishment of equality between the sexes, so far as inheritance and control of property are concerned, the Conference supports the Jogiah Bill to make better provision for Hindu women heirs as well as the Sarda Bill to secure share for Hindu widows in their husband's family property. As regards Muslim women, the inheritance laws of Islam are considered by the Conference to be reasonable enough for preservation, and the Government is advised to declare null and void the customary practices such as violate the Koranic injunctions.

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[1] *Statistisches Jahrbuch fuer das Deutsche Reich* (Berlin 1928), p. 26, *Statistical Abstract for British India, 1922-1932* (Delhi, 1934), pp. 40-44; *cf.* the American situation in H.A. Phelps, *Contemporary Social Problems* (New York, 1932), pp. 511-513, 517-519.

The student of comparative jurisprudence and sociology is not entitled, however, to make too much of the disabilities of Indian women. Western tradition in regard to women's property rights is not something enviable. The Hindu law of *Stridhana* (woman's special property) was not surpassed in its liberal features by the Institutes of Justinian, the Code Napoleon and other European laws until the Married Woman's Property Act was passed in England in 1886.[1]

Birth control has been considered by the Conference to be an imperative necessity on account of the " low physique of women, high infant mortality and increasing poverty of the country." The opinion has been propagated that men and women should be instructed in methods of birth-control and the suggestion has been made that municipalities and local bodies ought to open proper clinics (pp. 150, 170). It is to be observed that the Conference has not cared to associate the birth control propaganda with the conventional scare of overpopulation.

In politics the Conference stands for " perfect sex equality " and has demanded that women should possess the citizen rights of men. One resolution runs to the effect that "no disability either legal or social shall be attached to women on account of sex, or in regard to public employment, office, power or honour and in the exercise of any trade or calling " (pp. 171-172).

So far as the legislative bodies of the Indian constitution are concerned, the "communal award" has been condemned by the Conference which is strong in its demand for a system of joint electorates. At Trivandrum (1935-36) the Conference condemned the clauses of the Government of India Act relating to "wifehood qualification" and "application condition." It condemned likewise the electoral clauses and reiterated its demands for (*i*) direct election and (*ii*) non-reservation of seats on a communal basis as well as (*iii*) the rejection of separate electorates for women (pp. 152, 172).

The passing of a Maternity Benefit Act for the whole of India on the lines of the Bombay, C. P. and Madras Acts is to be found among the resolutions of the Conference (pp. 153, 184-187). The appointment of at least one woman factory inspector for every large industrial area is another of its objectives. The Bill prohibiting the pledging of child labour in regulated and unregulated industries has received the full support of the Conference, and it has likewise resolved that persons besides guardians and parents who pledge child labour or act in collusion with parents and guardians should be penalised. Altogether the conference is in general sympathy with the more liberal suggestions or recommendations of the Royal Commission on Labour in India (1929-31).[1]

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[1] The present author's *Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipzig 1922), pp. 28-29.

In its tenth session at Trivandrum the Conference supported Bakhale's Bill introduced in the Bombay Legislative Council to prohibit the employment of children under 12 in shops and urged that All-India legislation on similar lines limiting the hours of work and fixing a minimum age of employment of children in non-industrial undertaking be introduced.

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[1] See : *Social Insurance Legislation and Statistics* (Calcutta 1936), pp. 219-230, 286.

LAND MORTGAGE CREDIT.

BY J. P. NIYOGI, M.A., PH.D.
Professor, Calcutta University.

VIEWED as business operations a good deal of resemblance may be found between agricultural and manufacturing industries in regard to their need for capital as well as the manner in which they are able to supply their requirements of capital. Both branches of production require block capital to meet expenditure on permanent improvements and circulating capital for annually recurring needs. Both are equally forced to rely on credit agencies for the supply of capital. It is not however possible to proceed very far without noticing certain fundamental differences between the two. While the manufacturer is in a position to renew his circulating capital several [illegible] within the year, it is not often that the agriculturist is in a [illegible] do so. The renewal of capital in manufacture is to a [illegible] dependent on the resourcefulness, enterprise and [illegible] businessman. The agriculturist on the other [illegible] respect, as he is dependent on the capri[illegible] these considerations it has to be [illegible] manufacturing industries run [illegible] capital is raised by means of [illegible] there [illegible] any joint stock in agric[illegible] dependent on the credit of one single [illegible]

Agricultural [illegible] divided [illegible] two [illegible] mortgage [illegible] But it is so[illegible] practice [illegible] terms of long-term and short-term [illegible] even introduces an element of [illegible] the [illegible] hard-and-fast line of demarcation between the two. For [illegible] credit for a period exceeding six months up to [illegible] period of 3 [illegible] referred to as Intermediate Credit in the U[illegible] other countries such credit is usually referred to as short-term [illegible]. Then again, short term credit, whatever that may mean, [illegible] long-term one if the loans are renewed from [illegible] to [illegible] conditions in most agricultural countries [illegible] and insufficient repaying capacity of the borrowers, a considerable proportion of short-term obligations has been converted into long-term commitments. In such circumstances the distinction between long- and short-term credit tends to become blurred.

The problem of mortgage credit in agriculture is the problem of finding a substitute for the industrial joint-stock method of raising permanent capital.[1] The purposes for which mortgage credit is required are well known. The agriculturist requires capital for the extension of his holdings and redemption of ancestral debts. Funds might also be required for capital expenditure for the improvement of lands. The underlying idea in land mortgage banking is the mobilization of real credit through the issue of debentures and the disconnection between the debtor and the creditor through the instrumentality of specialized institutions. Indeed it is possible to maintain that the distinguishing mark of a Land Mortgage Bank is the issue of debenture. It is this feature that marks it out from other credit agencies such as the Loan Offices of Bengal which grant credit on the security of land and finance themselves by means of deposits. The distinction thus drawn between these different types of credit agencies is not a formal one as might appear at first sight. For it is necessary to emphasise that a credit institution raising its capital from deposits must necessarily expect a quick turnover of its funds. Such a bank can hardly finance long-term loans. The issue of interest-bearing mortgage bonds frees the agriculturist from the necessity of borrowing directly from the creditors. These securities enable investors to lend for periods sometimes extending over more than 60 years. The creation of a corporate body whose existence does not terminate with the individual, enables investors to place their funds in bonds of unquestionable security. When issued by a central body, such bonds have the additional advantage that they are readily marketable. Fluctuations in price are minimised and the lender is safeguarded against the risk of partial or complete loss of capital. The system of bond issue is equally advantageous to the borrower. In[illegible] as fixed capital is raised in this way on the security of land, his remaining assets are left free for seasonal requirements.

Speaking broadly Land Mortgage Banks may be divided into two categories (1) those run on co-operative lines and (2) those worked on joint-stock basis and (3) non-co-operative, public institutions owned and directly controlled by states, provinces and municipalities.) One of the earliest of the co-operative L. M. banks was the Silesian Landschaft established by Frederick the Great in 1769, who imitated the earlier experiments of the Dutch on this line. Membership of these associations was originally compulsory for every landowner in each of the Provinces of Prussia. Members were jointly and severally responsible for one another. In the second half of the 19th century another class of L. M. Banks differing in important respects from the Landschaft were started. These were called the new Landschaft and were meant for small farmers. Membership of these institutions was voluntary, the societies being run on the principle of limited liability.

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[1] Report of Agricultural Tribunal of Investigation, p. 104.

The second or the joint-stock type took a definite shape when towards the middle of the 19th century a Polish Economist Louis Francois Wolwoski (1810-76) proposed to apply the Prussian device, with this modification that the cooperative element was to be replaced by the joint-stock or the capitalistic type. It is worth while at this stage to emphasise the distinction between the two types which have played such a prominent part in giving relief to the overburden farming class all over Europe and America. (The co operative type is an association of debtors, while the corporative type is an institution owned and run by creditors for the sake of profit.) A critic of the Prussian Landschaft has pointed out that during periods of depression in the 19th century the Prussian Landschafts has virtually become a Government subsidized institution for relieving agricultural distress. The capitalistic type on the other hand has more successfully weathered the storm, mainly because of greater discrimination exercised in granting loans. Some rough idea of the importance of private or corporative mortgage banks even in Germany, the classic home of the co-operative type, may be gathered from the fact that in 1933 only about 1/5 of the total issue of the mortgage bonds consisted of those of the Landschaft, while the remaining 4/5 of the bonds were issued by the privately owned *Hypothek banken.*

The third type, *viz.*, the *non-co-operative* public institutions, although not so very important as the other two has also a long record of useful service to its credit. In this class may be included institutions established by public authorities like states, provinces and communes. These are generally subsidized institutions for which commercial or co-operative capital is lacking. During the first half of the nineteenth century some of the German states, *e.g.*, Saxony (1832), Prussia (1850) established banks of this kind. The Germans were trying to shake off the trammels of feudalism, and the need for the establishment of these subsidized banks arose out of the provisions of laws relating to the emancipation of land. The nobles required working capital to replace the feudal services up till then rendered by the peasantry, while the tenants required funds to redeem their lands from the rent charges into which their services and dues had been commuted.[1] To meet these needs state mortgage banks were started. In modern times illustrations of this type of bank may be had in the Land Mortgage Bank of Warsaw and the Bulgarian Mortgage Bank. In Middle and Eastern Europe these Banks represent one method of protecting and subsidizing agricultural interests.[2] In Germany a number of institutions of this type were created to tide over the difficult situation after 1923.

The relation that should subsist between co-operative land mortgage banks and credit societies has been the subject of a good deal of controversy in India. At one time economists and public men were divided into two warring camps advocating the establishment of one of these types to the exclusion of the other. In 1895 Frederick Nicholson in presenting his report on the possibility of introducing land and agricultural banks in the Madras Presidency, argued that land banks solely devoted to land mortgage credit were unsuited to the needs of that Presidency. He pointed out that of the numerous mortgages existing there, half of those averaged only Rs. 44 apiece and a mortgage deed with its stamp duty registration charge was an absurdity. He concluded with the observation that the vast bulk of agricultural and rural credit could and should be granted by village banks alone.[3]

But the days of rivalry between land and credit banks are now over. It is realised that these two institutions are not competitive but complementary and that each has got its own sphere of usefulness The promoters of Co-operative Credit Societies now readily ad that they have no machinery for verifying titles, valuing lands and executing mortgage deeds. The rural societies are not in a position to advance large amounts to any one borrower, as these societies are run on the principles of unlimited liability. Besides, it must be recognised that the principle of mortgage security is different in nature from the principle of personal security which forms the foundation of rural co-operative credit societies. It may even be argued that the introduction of mortgage security undermines the principle of personal and collective responsibility. Apart from these considerations there is the well known fact that co-operative societies have short-term deposits which cannot be locked up in long-term loans. Long-term loans can only be financed by debentures.

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[1] Nicholson, Report regarding the possibility of introducing Land and Agricultural Banks in the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, p. 66.

[2] Palyi, Principles of Mortgage Banking Regulatiou in Europe, p. 9.

[3] Nicrolson, Report on Land and Agricultural Bank, Preface, p. xiii.

Most of the Indian Provincial Banking Enquiry Committees which considered this question came to the conclusion that in the interest of sound financial management it was desirable to effect a clean cut between the land mortgage banks and the Co-operative Credit Societies. The only two Committees which differed from this view were those of Bengal and of Bihar and Orissa. The Bengal Committee came to the conclusion that there was hardly any case for a separate land mortgage bank in Bengal. The Bihar and Orissa Committee argued that it would be undesirable to set up separate land mortgage banks, since the divided allegiance of members to two primary societies would create grave difficulties. The Bihar and Orissa Committee therefore recommended that the existing Central Banks should be organised into two separate departments, one dealing exclusively with long-term business. These two departments of the Central Bank were expected to keep separate registers showing the amount of the business of each class. The actual working of this system in the province of Bihar and Orissa has, however, shown that the Central Banks are incapable of exercising that scrutiny and caution which mixed banking of this type requires.[1] In the Province of Bengal the recommendation of the Bengal Committee has been ignored and the Government have boldly initiated the experiment of separate land mortgage banks. It is true that in Bengal the Provincial Co-operative Bank will be allowed to float debentures to finance the primary land mortgage banks. But even here the separation between the two kinds of business, *viz.*, long- and short-term lending will be effected by a very simple device. The debenture holders in this province will be given a charge not on the general assets of the Bank, but only on the mortgages executed by the borrowers which will be assigned to the Trustee as the custodians of the interests of the debenture-holders. The principle of separation has therefore been accepted *in toto.*

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[1] Bihar and Orissa Committee, p. 100.

But separation of the spheres of activity of primary Co-operative Credit Societies and of land mortgage banks need not necessarily mean a lack of co-ordination between the two. It is essential that there should be some unity of policy, both in the interests of the banks themselves and of the co-operative movement as a whole. In so far as members are common to credit societies and land mortgage banks the information collected by one institution regarding the borrowing capacity of its members should always be made available to the other. Co-operative Credit Societies should furnish a copy of the ledger account of those of their members who apply to a mortgage bank for a loan. On the other hand mortgage banks should always be prepared to give access to all papers required by credit societies for the purpose of enabling the latter to decide loan applications. It is only when these different institutions work in harmony with each other that they will be in a position to render the maximum possible service to the community.[1]

It is interesting at this stage to review in brief the underlying principles which regulate mortgage banking in Europe and America. Practices vary widely in different countries, but at the same time it is possible to discover a few unities among such differences. The outstanding characteristic of mortgage banking is its separation from commercial banking. When an institution is privileged to issue mortgage bonds, it is usually divorced from deposit banking. This is a statement which must, however, be accepted with some amount of caution. Thus in Germany we find that institutions described as "pure" mortgage banks, are allowed to receive deposits up to 50% of their paid-up capital.[2] These banks however are remnants of a bygone period when commercial and even note-issuing banks were allowed to enter into mortgage business. In these cases however law and custom prescribe a separation of the two departments. Another exception to the general rule is afforded by the case of Credit Foncier which is allowed to receive deposits up to a prescribed maximum. The main advantage of separating mortgage from commercial banking lies in this that the policy relieves the debtor from the dangers involved in the use of short-term deposits for long-term investments. The funds required for mortgage business should be obtained from the savings of the public rather than from the resources of deposit banks. This separation of commercial from mortgage banks is also illustrated in the case of Federal Land Banks of the U. S. A. which are not banks in the ordinary sense of the word, but merely act as intermediaries between investors buying bonds and borrowers securing loans on mortgage. They are not permitted to do ordinary banking business. They must not accept deposits of current funds payable on demand. As a general rule therefore it may be laid down that mortgage banks should avoid deposit business. At the same time for the convenience of its own clients, the banks may be allowed to conduct a restricted amount of this kind of business. For experience has shown that the bank's clients may desire to keep in the custody of the banks funds for short periods.

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[1] Such co-operation is contemplated under the model By-Laws laid down for the Beegal Co-opeutive Mortgage Banks, Rule 39.

[2] Willis and Beckhart, Foreign Banking System, Ed. 1929, p. 688.

Another principle to which reference may be made is the equality of bond issue and the volume of mortgage loans. Whenever a mortgage is repaid there must be a corresponding reduction in the volume of ~~bond~~ mortgage bonds. The total volume of mortgage bonds is to be covered by the amount invested in lands or by reserves accumulated for the purpose of purchasing the bonds.[1] In the old Prussian Landshaften this principle was emphasised by the practice which prevailed, *viz.*, that the mortgage bonds were issued on the security of specific properties. Although the practice of special hypothecation was subsequently abandoned, the fundamental principle remained.[2] This principle of mortgage banking has its analogy in the practice of note-issuing banks that the volume of notes issued must be fully covered by securities and cash. Not only is it necessary that the amount invested must be balanced by the amount issued in bonds, but it is also desirable that as far as practicable the period of the maturity of the bonds must coincide with the period for which loans are granted. It is evident that a provision of this kind does not automatically secure either the solvency of the bank or the marketability of the bonds issued. For while the mortgage loans may be renewed after the expiry of the original period of investment, the bondholder may not always be willing to renew his loan to the bank. The rules of some of the co-operative mortgage banks provide a fixed ratio between the debentures issued and the share capital as distinguished from the ratio between debentures and the value of the property mortgaged. Thus in the newly started mortgage banks of Bengal the ratio provided for is 1 : 20, *i. e.*, the amount borrowed mainly in the form of debentures must not exceed 20 times the paid-up capital plus the reserve fund. Similar reservations exist in the Land Bank and Mortgage Company of Egypt and the Danish and Norwegian Mortgage Banks. But it is evident there is no rational basis for this restriction, for the main security of the debenture-holder lies in prudent, cautious and careful valuation of the property mortgaged and not in the share capital. Indeed some of the Co-opertive Mortgage banks have often very little or no share capital. The only effect of laying down a minimum ratio between share capital and debentures is to restrict the field of mortgage credit and to exclude a number of concerns which might otherwise be sound.

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[1] Palyi—Principles, p. 12.

[2] Tcherkinsky, The Landschaften and their Mortgage Credit Operations in Germany, p. 28.

The method of repayment of the loan is technically known as amortisation or payment by equal annual instalments over a series of years (U. S. A. Document No. 380, 1914). This payment includes three items :—interest charges, repayment of the principal and a small sum to cover the expenses of administration. In Europe the period of repayment covers 30 to 60 years, and the charge for administration is calculated on the principal remaining unpaid. This charge therefore constantly decreases as the loan is gradually paid off by the farmer.

The method of the cancellation of debt by the process of amortization is advantageous whether the transaction is looked at from the point of the borrower or the debenture holder. The system enables the borrower to utilise his small savings in reduction of debt. He can also adjust his annual payments to the earning capacity of the soil, by choosing a rate of amortization well within his means. To the debenture holder the main advantage lies in the fact that as time goes on the debenture becomes more and more secure. It is customary in Europe to allow the borrower to discharge his entire obligation at any time after a stipulated period. The main advantage of this provision to the debtor is that it enables him to guard against the risk of falling interest rate. In mortgage banking loans may extend over a period of 60 years or more. It is therefore prudent to provide against this risk.

A question which is of paramonut importance is the extent and nature of State aid granted to Mortgage Credit Banks. It is apparent that any system of mortgage credit must have for its basis the guarantee of the titles to the land by the State. It is against public policy that there should crop up disputes regarding the titles to land. Primarily, of course, it is the individual farmer who is handicapped owing to uncertainties of this kind, but it may be argued that the community as a whole does not escape from their baneful effect.

Mortgage banks are often granted the power of foreclosure and of sale without recourse to Law Courts. In Europe there is prescribed a speedy foreclosure procedure. The borrower is given low rates of interest, the advantage of easy instalments and he has himself to blame if he is unable to carry out the conditions of the contract. In India the question of the right procedure to adopt is still in a nebulous state and is complicated by a number of considerations. In the first place it has to be borne in mind that a mortgage executed in favour of the bank may be annuled by the provisions of the insolvency law. In the second place there is the vexed question of priority as between loans granted by the Government under the Agricultural Loans Act and those granted by the Mortgage Banks. But whatever may be the ultimate solution of these difficulties, the fact remains that the Mortgage Banks will cease to be workable, if they become once enmeshed in the legal complexities usually associated with Civil Court Procedure. It has been maintained that possessed of the summary power of foreclosure the Land Mortgage Banks will not exercise that caution, vigilance and watchfulness in granting loans which they would otherwise have shown. Those who argue in this strain might be reminded that to ensure the marketability of the debentures it is necessary to keep clear of all legal disputes. Apart from this, the summary powers to the banks might mean a substantial reduction in the rate of interest charged to the borrower. The only person likely to be inconvenienced by this right is the dishonest borrower who would otherwise take advantage of the disinclination of the creditor bank to bring the defaulter's land to sale.

A critical examination the operation of land mortgage banks in the various provinces of India, particularly Madras and the Punjab, will show that most of these banks have been handicapped in their working due to the heavy percentage of overdues. In the Province of Madras statutory powers have recently been given to the banks to sell the mortgaged lands without recourse to the Courts and it will be interesting to watch the operation of this enactment on the extent and incidence of overdues. It has been argued that if the right of foreclosure is exercised and property brought to sale without recourse to courts the co-operative movement will suffer in popularity. This criticism appears to have little or no validity. For special powers have always been given to Co-operative Credit Societies under Section 43 of the Co-operative Societies Act to realise their dues by summary procedure. Under the operation of the section, any dispute, including a dispute regarding overdues, might be referred either to the Registrar or to arbitrators for decision. Some local governments have framed rules providing for the enforcement of the Registrar's decision or the arbitrator's award as a decree of Civil Court. Other local governments have gone further and have armed themselves with more stringent powers. They have made rules, rendering all such sums recoverable as arrears of land revenue. If drastic provisions of this kind which already exist, do not make the co-operative movement unpopular, it is difficult to see how the summary right of foreclosure and of sale will make it more so.

Another form of State assistance which is sometimes granted to these credit institutions is the exemption of the debentures from income-tax. The issue of tax-exempt debentures might be advocated as it enables the farmer to secure funds at a comparatively low rate of interest. It would however be argued that the policy of granting exemption from income-tax is likely to entail a loss of revenue and that it involves the grant of subsidy of an undesirable kind. This loss is bound to be serious particularly in a country with a steeply graduated income-tax. For the bonds are likely to find their way into the hands of those who are subject to high rates of income tax and super tax. There is the further consideration that the policy of tax exemption involves the liberation of unearned incomes and the imposition of a correspondingly higher rate of tax on those deriving their income from personal labour. Nor is it possible to rebut the charge that to exempt debentures floated by mortgage banks is to grant a special privilege to one particular type of investment. There is no doubt considerable force in these arguments. But at the same time considerations of public policy may outweigh the economic disadvantages inherent in a policy of tax-exemption. If it is decided that the mortgage bonds have to be made popular and acceptable to likely investors, the loss of revenue may be incurred to attain the objective.

Apart from tax exemption, it is also open to the State to help the Societies in another way. In Western countries the mortgage bonds are usually ranked as trustee securities. Owing to the rigid conditions regulating their issue and amortization, these bonds form an ideal investment and represent the highest type of safe investment. In Europe such bonds are generally issued only against first mortgages. In France mortgages on mines and theatres are not allowed, while those on forests and vineyards are permitted within limits. The private mortgage banks in Germany are not allowed to invest more than half of their own capital in undeveloped lands. It is by devices such as these that, as far as possible, the speculative element is sought to be avoided. In Germany the State has the right to enforce rigid standards of assessment and valuation by discriminating between the mortgage bonds issued by various banks. It is only the bonds of those banks which follow certain strict conditions laid down by the State, that are entitled to be ranked as trustee securities. In Holland the postal Savings Bank publish from time to time a list of mortgage bonds issued by the various banks in which the Postal Department is prepared to invest its surplus funds. The various methods of State aid and State control, mainly indirect, do not exhaust all the means which are usually adopted by modern Governments. In Hungary for instance, the State subscribed a part of the foundation capital, founders' shares being sold to secure additional capital.[1] In France the Government gave a subsidy to the Credit Foncier which was also guaranteed a monopoly of long-term mortgage business. In U. S. A. the Government subscribed to the capital stock of each Federal Land Bank to the extent of 750,000 dollars. As there are 12 Federal Land Banks the total amount of capital subscribed by the Government was 9 million dollars. No interest has to be paid on this loan. The Government of Great Britain heavily subsidised the Agricultural Mortgage Corporation set up under the Agricultural Credits Act, 1928. The amount of State assistance which should be granted must obviously depend on historical and economic circumstances giving rise to the need for the establishment of these banks. In the case of new countries the need for State assistance is obviously much greater than in older countries. As an illustration we may refer to the assistance given in Australia where most of the mortgage loans are made through State institutions, out of funds which are either provided by the States, or guaranteed by them.[1] In New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, the rural Bank departments of the State Savings Bank, supply the necessary facilities to the farmer. In the case of the U. S. A., on the other hand, the aim of the promoters of the Federal Land Banks has been to organise the Credit machinery in such a manner as to attract the savings of the private investor by reason of the inherent soundness of the investment and not because of any guarantee by the State.

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[1] Report of the U. S. Commission on Land Mortgage Credit, p. 22.

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[1] Report of the Committee on Rural Credit in Australia, p. 7.

NAWAB NAJIMUDDOWLA AND THE ENGLISH

By

A. P. Dasgupta, M.A. (Cal.), Ph. D. (London).

THE dealings of the English with Nawab Najimuddowla in 1765 are of great importance in the story of the evolution of British administration in Bengal. These transactions constitute an important and well-defined stage in the " long process of exhausting the functions " of the subahdar of Bengal by which the English made themselves the rulers of this country, and are in fact of greater importance than the formal acquisition of the dewani of Bengal, Behar and Orissa from the titular emperor of Delhi.

Though the battle of Plassey was not a great military achievement, it had fundamentally altered the position of the English in Bengal. Indeed, the English were, after Plassey, theoretically no more than the zemindars of the 24-parganas choosing to hold the lands by grant from the nawab. Yet in fact they had become masters of the destinies of Bengal. They possessed the most powerful military force in the province, had successfully taken the side of a faction, overthrown one nawab and established another in his place. The English had in treaties with Sirajuddowla obtained the right of fortifying Calcutta and establishing a mint. Sirajuddowla had also confirmed their claim to trade free of duty.[1] The new nawab Mir Jafar made similar concessions in 1757 butwent further to yield bits of his sovereignty when he agreed that " I will not erect any new fortifications below the Hughli near the river Ganges" [2] and when in a sanad declaring that the English Company were exempted from duties on their goods carried up and down the country he proclaimed that "whoever acts contrary to these orders, the English have full power to punish them." [3]

The English after some time dropped Mir Jafar, set up Mir Kasim, then deposed Mir Kasim and again set up Mir Jafar. In the meanwhile they acquired the districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and

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[1] Aitchison, Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, etc., Calcutta 1909, Vol. I, pp. 181-2.

[2] Art. 11, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

[3] *op. cit.*, p. 187.

Chittagong for defraying the expenses of their troops. These districts were granted, in the words of Mir Kasim's sanad, "to the English Company, in part of disbursement of their expenses, and the monthly maintenance of five hundred European horse, two thousand European foot, and eight thousand sepoys which are to be entertained for the protection of the royal dominions." These troops were to be maintained because "divers wicked people have traitorously stretched forth their hands to plunder the subjects and waste the royal domains." The zemindars, kanungos and talukdars were to "quietly and contentedly" pay "to the persons appointed by the English Company the stated revenues, and implicitly submit in all things to their authority." [1] Thus the English first started their direct administration in these ceded districts, "the first nursery of English administrators for Bengal."

Mir Jafar in his anxiety to get back the masnad not only confirmed Mir Kasim's grant of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong, exempted the trade of the East India Company's servants from all imposts and promised to pay huge sums to the English, but in stipulating also to maintain 12,000 horse and 12,000 foot in the three provinces agreed that these troops could in emergency be increased only with the assent of the Governor and Council of Fort William.[2]

This miserable creature died a miserable death on the 5th February, 1765. It is not for us to enquire into the respective claims of Mir Jafar's son Najimuddowla and Meeran's child, neither shall we enquire into the motives that led the Council to decide in favour of Najimuddowla. Suffice it to say that the English, with their experience of Mir Kasim fresh in their minds and suspicious about the councillors who might get round the new nawab and influence him to act inimically against them, now decided to establish their control definitely over the government at Murshidabad. They were no longer to be satisfied with being king-makers and enjoying trade privileges. They must interfere in the government of the country.

On the 14th February the Council at Fort William resolved that "considering the minority of Najim-o-dowla and his entire ignorance in the affairs of the government.........the whole charge shall not rest upon him, nor upon Nundcomar, in whom he has already expressed an inclination of reposing his entire confidence. Since then the whole trust is too great to be placed in one man and that from former circumstances in Nundcomar's conduct we have much reason to distrust him" there was to be appointed at the Board's recommendation a "Naib Subah" or deputy subahdar who was to have immediately under the nawab the chief management of all affairs. The man of their choice was, the naib of Dacca, Muhammad Reza Khan who it was decided "shall not be removed without our acquiescence." The Board further resolved that "the business of the collections of the revenues shall be divided into two or more branches as may appear proper and the appointment or dismission of the mudsidies of those branches and the allotment of their several districts shall be with our approbation, and that we shall be at liberty to point out to the Nawab and object when improper persons are employed under them. If it shall appear advisable to place this business in the hands of Nundcomar and Roydullub, their power as near as possible shall be equal." The new Nawab was to "be discharged from maintaining any troops but what are immediately requisite for the dignity of his person and the business of his collections throughout the provinces." Further no application for sanads was to be made by the nawab except through the English.[1]

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[1] *op. cit.*, pp. 216-17.
[2] *op. cit.*, pp. 218-219.

In accordance with these resolutions the President, Mr. Spencer, wrote to Muhammad Reza Khan asking him to start for Murshidabad. Four councillors were deputed to Murshidabad to instal the nawab formally and get him to sign a treaty in accordance with the resolutions of the Board.

Najimuddowla did not however like the terms of the treaty that was presented to him by the councillors, especially because he was suspicious of Muhammad Reza Khan. The councillors signed the treaty on the 20th February, but the signature of the nawab is dated the 25th February.[2] It seems that they presented to the nawab a ready-made document to which he was compelled to affix his signature.[3] On the first scent of the English plans the nawab had sent a perwanah to Muhammad Reza Khan expressly forbidding him to stir out of Dacca.[4] The councillors however induced the nawab to send another perwanah ordering Reza Khan to hasten to Murshidabad, and in their anxiety to counteract the influence of the court officials on the nawab decided to defer the ceremony of public installation till the arrival of the new naib subahdar.[1]

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[1] Secret Proceedings of 14th February 1765, Imperial Record Department, Serial No. 3, pp. 100-106.

[2] Aitchison, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

[3] Najimuddowla to Clive and Select Committee—Select Com. Proc. of 1 June, 1765, I. R. D. Serial No. 10, pp. 25-26.

[4] Members of deputation to Board, 25 Feb., 1765, Secret Proc. of 28 Feb., 1765, I. R D. Serial No. 3, pp. 163-4.

It is interesting to note the kind of protest that was raised within the council against these measures. Mr. George Gray entered a lengthy minute in course of which he pointed out that the nawab was left "only the name without any part of the power. For without having consulted his opinions or his inclinations it is dictated to him that Muhammad Reza Khan a servant of his father at present a naib of Dacca must be the naib subah, and that in a manner which will throw the entire administration into his hands." This and other articles of the treaty, Gray considered to be "the greatest mortification we can offer to a Prince our ally and not our slave." He said that Mir Jafar had a very great dislike for Muhammad Reza Khan and the latter would now have the opportunity of retaliating upon the new nawab for the injuries which he supposed he had received from his father. "Besides," Gray aptly pointed out, " Mahomed Reza Cawn is by no means of a sufficient rank to hold a post which commands such distinguished mutseddies as the Royroyan and the nizamut dewan, two officers holding precedence of every man in the country except the nabob and his own family." The business of Nandakumar as the Royroyan was "to collect the general revenues of the country from the different naibs, foujdars, etc.," and that of Ray Durlabh as the nizamat diwan was to "collect the rents of the nazims jagheer and to have charge of disbursements of the subadaree. These two departments of the government have their distinct offices and registers, and are independent of one another, they cannot be changed or blended without changing the regulations by which the country hath been heretofore governed." Yet this was precisely what the Board was doing. Gray was of opinion that Najimuddowlah was of sufficient age and capacity to manage his own government and remarked "...if we encroach on his authority by taking such a share of the administration we shall make it appear that the company make the grants to themselves and that they oppose the entrance of foreign nations into Bengal. The company and not the nabab will then be considered as the principal and in all disputes they will be accountable for whatever is done in the country and as force is the only argument we can produce in our favour, we tacitly acknowledge the same right in the French, Dutch or any other power whenever they chuse to make use of it." [1]

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 165.

To these objections the other members of the Board replied that the right of nomination to the musnud of Bengal they had "thrice already assumed" without previous reference to the Court of Directors and without the sanction of the Emperor of Delhi, that no right of succession or nomination could rest with Mir Jafar or his family until the acquiescence and confirmation of the Company had been obtained, and that if they could dictate to the Delhi Emperor the successor to the subahdaree of Bengal there could be no hesitation in laying a salutary restraint on a young and incapable nawab in whose councils the wily Nandakumar held so high a place. The Board pointed out that the plan they had devised was based on checks and balances. Muhammad Reza Khan was brought in as a check against the influence of Nandakumar. The Board was not aware of any intimate tie of friendship between Reza Khan and Raja Durlabh. Besides to guard against Reza Khan usurping more power than Nandakumar now possessed the Board had resolved that the collection of the revenues should be in other hands. The nomination of the chief revenue officers also was not left to Reza Khan but to the nawab with the advice of the Governor and Council. Again the revenues had been divided into two or more departments "for hindering too much power to fall into the hands of any one mutsaddy." The powers of the two mutsaddies were to be equal and since the mutual jealousy of Nandakumar and Raja Durlabh were well-known they would act as constant check on each other.

These members went on to add, " The Board do not stipulate to be consulted in the appointment of the amils to be employed in the several districts, but reserve to themselves the privilege of objecting and representing to the nabob should the mutsaddies to serve their own ends throw them into improper hands and in case of such aumils oppressing and ruining the country......with such check we think the nabob must have much greater justice done him in his revenues than any he can expect while left at the disposal of Nundcomar and his creatures or any single man whose interest it is to cheat him and keep him in utter darkness in all those points—neither does it appear to us that the dividing the weighty charge of ye. collections under two or more branches ... will be attended with the inconveniences that Mr. Gray mentions: There are at present many distinct cutcherries under the Royroyan as the calsa, the chout, His [Khas—?] Nuvisy Jageer munsubdaran, the sair, etc., etc., which might be separated as far as we can judge from his superintendence without occasioning any confusion...the superintendence of the collections of different chucklahs of the country may without the smallest difficulty or ill consequence be thrown under different men."[1]

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[1] Gray's Minute, Secret Proc. of 19 Feb., 1765, Idem, pp. 116-22.

It appears that Najimuddowla had agreed to defer the ceremony of public installation, not because of the wishes of the members of the deputation but because of his desire to be publicly seated on the musnud after the arrival of the perwanah from the Emperor of Delhi for which he had in the meanwhile applied. On the morning of the 3rd March, 1765, Maharaja Nandakumar saw the members of the deputation and desired to know whether a tent should be erected outside the city where the nawab might publicly and with due reverence receive the perwanah. This attempt to preserve the de jure position of the nawab was frustrated by a flat refusal, and the nawab was told that such a step would be improper, and he was to receive the government only from the Company. If sanads from the Emperor would ever appear necessary they were to be obtained only through the Board's application. The English then hastened to instal the nawab publicly.[2]

As soon as the members of the deputation proceeded to give effect to the treaty they met with opposition from Nandakumar and the revenue officers. They found it difficult to obtain an idea of the state of the collections. Nandakumar, the zemindars and the officers of the cutchery would not make their usual acknowledgments to Reza Khan, and it was found difficult to take away from Nandakumar the authority that he exercised and restrict him to the task of revenue collection alone. The Board's representatives reported to Fort William, " Nundacoomar has made a very unbecoming struggle in opposition to your orders to restrain the absolute power he had assumed, and if a watchful eye be not kept on his intrigues he will certainly embroil the nawab's affairs and reassume the power you have meant to place on the hands of Mahomed Reza Cawn, as all the people about the nawab's person are absolutely devoted to Nundcomar and enemies to this change......" [1]

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[1] Secret Proc. of 20 Feb., 1765—Idem, pp. 135-43.

[2] Members of deputation to Board, 3 March, 1765, Sec. Proc. of 6 March, 1765—Idem, pp. 173-74.

The English therefore proceeded to remove all the recalcitrant people in the nawab's government and establish their own nominees in the collection of the revenues. Within a short time " some very corroborative proofs of the treacherous correspondence imputed to Nundcomar in April 1764 " was found. The Board was convinced of the danger of allowing Nandakumar to continue at Murshidabad and ordered that he should be sent to Calcutta. He was accordingly arrested and detained at Motijhil. The nawab remonstrated saying that he regarded Nandakumar's honour as his own and demanded his release. When Nazimuddowlah went in person to Motijhil, Nandakumar was released on condition that the nawab would himself put a guard upon him, and promise to send him to Calcutta in case the Board insisted on his being taken there, "and in the meantime not to admit him to his councils and to assign the care of his offices to other hands with our advice." [2]

Nandakumar having been thus shackled, the deputation proceeded to suggest to the Council the arrangements that were now to be made for the collection of the revenues. Speaking of Behar they said, " We are told the principal power is in the hands of Derje Narrain and Kittledass [sic] the duans put in by Nundcomar and that the amils from the different districts were put in by the old nabob and Nundcomar when with the army above. If Ektaramat Dowla be continued in the Naibut of that soubahship a change in the Mutseddies and amils under him (more especially upon the frontiers) seems very requisite to conduct the collections of the approaching season." They proceeded to recommend Raja Gopal Kissen as one who by reason of his previous experience could very well be appointed in that province. They said that agreeably to the desire of the Board they had proposed a large allotment of the revenues to Roy Durlabh over and above his post of nizamat dewan, under which there were some particular collections to the amount of about 6 lakhs per annum. They however anticipated strenuous objections on the part of the nawab to Roy

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[1] Same to Same, 7 March, 1765, Sec. Proc. of 16 March, 1765—Idem, pp. 179-81.
[2] Same to same, 21 March, 1765, Secret Proc. of 25 March, 1765—Idem, p. 255.

Durlabh being given " so considerable a charge." " Upon a supposition that Nundcomar shall not be acquitted of the charge against him we have enquired of the most capable mutsidies who have formerly been employed in the branch of the collections and have proposed an allotment to each which can either be added to or decreased as may be judged proper." The powers and functions that the mutsuddies and the naib subah were to exercise were defined thus: " These mutsedies will have to keep the accounts and superintend the different collections, but the turning out or putting in the amils or collectors to the districts must we suppose as heretofore rest with the nabob.—The liberty of presenting proper persons but not the choice having been the extent of their power. The getting the revenues to be received or whether to be collected by the amils or paid by the zemindars immediately to the cutchery here resting in the breast of the nabob—and to see those revenues duly enforced, kept up and paid, the office and duty of the superintendents. The naib subah we think should be consulted in adjusting the bundabust and settling the collections that he may be able to make proper representations to the nabob and it appears his business to call on the mutsedies for the statement of any particular district where he suspects deficiencies and in general to superintend the whole that he may be able to give the nabob a thorough insight into the affairs of the government and point out to him any amendment which can be made." The members of the deputation then proceeded to suggest a few more nominees of their own for appointment in place of objectionable officials. The nawab's Arizbegy, Musuffar Ally, was to be removed and replaced by Hadji Mundy. Nundakumar's brother who was in charge of the collections of Rajshahi was to be replaced by Ramnarayan Mustafi, because there was a big balance due from him, and for the same reason, they recommended Jesarat Khan to be appointed in place of Bahadur Hossain Khan, foujdar of Purnea.[1]

The Board approved of nearly all the suggestions of the deputies. The nawab was to be prevailed on to give up his objections to Roy Durlabh and confirm to him the proposed allotment, besides being appointed nizamat dewan with the particular collections appertaining to that office. As to Bahadur Hossain Khan the foujdar of Purnea, they were of opinion that, since he could be removed at their will, he might continue in his office, and Najimuddowla was to be urged to provide Jesarat Khan elsewhere suitably to his rank.[1]

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[1] Same to same, 22 March, 1765—*Ibid*, pp. 260-72.

Having obtained the Board's approval, the deputies waited on the nawab. Najimuddowla objected to the new arrangements relating to the collection of the revenues as "improper and unseasonable till the beginning of the new year" and said that "he would settle it himself at Calcutta."[2] The President therefore found it necessary to back the instructions of the Board to the members of the deputation by a letter to Najimuddowla.[3] Thereupon the nawab gave his assent to the proposed changes, but he could not be induced to have Roy Durlabh.[4] Najimuddowla had to write two appealing letters to Calcutta before the Board decided not to insist further on the Rajah's appointment. They hoped however that the nawab "means to continue him in the place he already enjoys of nizamat dewan if he be content to hold it alone" and desired the deputies to "press the nabob to transfer immediately the allotment proposed for him in the hands of other mudseddies in whom he has confidence; advising him also that if he acquiesces in giving a post to the son of the deceased Raja Bullob...we shall have no objection thereto..."[5]

Having thus regulated, according to their desire, the management of the nawab's revenues, and having established their control over this important branch of government, the Board resolved that 'a battalion of sepoys should be stationed at the city to act under the resident at the durbar and countenance affairs there."[6]

A few days after this, in May, 1765, Clive arrived in Calcutta to commence his famous second administration. Najimuddowla who was chafing under the restraints imposed upon him, and the necessity of having to swallow men odious to him like Muhammad Reza Khan, came down to Calcutta in the hope of obtaining relief from Clive. He presented to the Governor and Select Committee a letter complaining of the manner in which the late treaty had been forced on him, of how against his wishes Muhammad Reza Khan was thrust upon him and the way in which Nundakumar was accused and arrested and sent to Calcutta. He accused the naib subah of distributing 20 lakhs of rupees in money and goods out of his treasury "for the better securing his naibship." "Besides," the nawab continued, there is a balance due from the above mentioned Cawn of about twenty lacks of rupees on account of Dacca, Syllat, Rosshamabad of which he does not chuse to pay a single cowri............... He keeps my seal under his own seal and there is nothing to be done with my will or order—Titles, employments, kelauts, elephants, horses and jewell are granted and distributed to others as he pleases........ ... There is a balance due to the sircar from the jilladars of fifteen lacks of rupees, and now new employments are granted to them, and the lands divided into several divisions." [1]

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[1] Minutes of Consultation, Secret Proc. of 26 March, 1765, Idem, pp. 274-278.

[2] Members of deputation to Board, 29 March, 1765, Sec. Proc. of 1 April, 1765, Idem, p. 283.

[3] *Ibid*, pp. 283-4.

[4] Same to same, 2 April, 1765, Secret Proc. of 9 April, 1765. Idem, p. 301.

[5] Resolution of the Board, 22 April, 1765. Idem, pp. 316-18.

[6] *Ibid.*

Thereupon Clive instituted an enquiry into the conduct of the members of the Board who had accepted the presents from Muhammad Reza Khan in direct contravention of the express orders of the Company. Various degrees of guilt were fixed upon these gentlemen and the whole matter was reported to the Court of Directors for their final judgment.[2]

"Taking into consideration the youth, inexperience and incapacity of the nabob, the necessity of placing the administration in the hands of men capable to support the weight of Government and attached to the Company's interest and likewise the great danger that may arise to the stability of the present establishment from suffering the whole power and absolute management of the three provinces to rest in a single person," Clive and his Select Committee resolved that "Mahomed Reza Cawn be advised to relinquish the title of naib subah and also part of the unbounded authority wherewith he was vested by the late treaty, as a measure not only agreeable to the nabob but necessary to the safety of the present Government and the future tranquility of the country...........they judge it necessary to retrench his authority and ballance his power in order to produce that perfect equilibrium of influence which alone can remove the nabob's jealousies and give permanency to the measures we are taking to prevent the necessity of future revolutions." They further resolved that "Roydullub and Juggut Seet be associated in the administration of the Government with Muhammad Reza Cawn...and

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[1] Najimuddowla to Clive and Select Committee, Sel. Com. Proc. of 1 June, 1765—I. R. D. Serial No. 10, pp. 23-28.

[2] *Idem*, pp. 32-62.

JURISTIC CONCEPTION OF DOMINION STATUS.

D. C. Gupta, m.a., b.l., Bar.-at-Law.

II

NOW we come to the second stage of development of Dominion Status. A new page in the history of the world opened with the War. The maps of at least four Continents were required to be drawn anew. Some of those countries which were not subject to territorial adjustments had, however, new forms of government, not experimented before in the history of civilization. In the British Empire, though there was no change in the idea as to the basic function of State or the structure of government, there was change in the conception of the bond which bound together the Mother Country and the different parts of the Empire. The important parts that the Dominions and India played in the Great War enhanced their prestige in the international world. The undefined yet the well-understood concept of Dominion Status took a definite shape in the politics of the inter-Imperial relations. But it must be remembered that the termination of the Great War did not all at once mark out some of the more important colonies as " Dominions " for, Canada, Australia, South Africa, etc., strictly and legally speaking, continued to be Colonies up to the 11th December 1931, and the administrative responsibilities of Canada and Ceylon or of Australia and Malta were on the same Secretary of State, though the Dominion Office was organised as a separate department from the Colonial Office since 1925. And it was only in 1930 that the responsibility for the administration of the self-governing colonies was placed under a separate Secretary of State called the Secretary of State for the Dominion affairs.[1]

From the meetings attended by the Dominion Prime Ministers and the British Ministers during the Great War grew up the Imperial

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[1] This separation took place during the second Labour Government when Lord Passfield (better known as Sidney Webb) was in charge of both the portfolios. A resolution was passed in the Imperial Conference of 1911 that " it is essential that the Department of the Dominions be separated from that of the Crown Colonies and that each Department be placed under a separate permanent Under-Secretary."

War cabinet. When the War ended, General Smuts, Prime Minister of South Africa, and Sir Robert Borden, Prime Minister of Canada, claimed in view of the great sacrifices made by the Dominions, separate representations for them at the Peace Conference in 1919. Needless to say, that this demand of the Dominions was not based upon any well-established principle but on the logic of facts. However, a British delegation was formed consisting of the British Ministers and the representatives of the Dominions and India who signed the Treaty of Versailles. But the Dominion representatives in the delegation signed the Peace Treaties separately "for The Commonwealth of Australia" or "for the Dominion of Canada" and so forth and in the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Dominions (except Newfoundland) were separately scheduled as original members.

Furthermore, some of the Dominions undertook a novel responsibility in accepting the administration of some of the ex-German colonies under the supervision of the League of Nations "as a sacred trust for civilisation." This system is known as the Mandate system. embodied in Art. 22 of the Covenant. To obviate the legal difficulty[1] in the matter of conferring the unique responsibility of administration of a part of the territory wrested from ex-enemies by the Treaty of Versailles on the Governments or the states which after all, are not independent, the Mandate was couched in the form "conferred on His Britanic Majesty for and on behalf of" the Government of Australia, or New Zealand or South Africa as the case may be. Thus, of the three classes of Mandates A, B and C, the Mandate in the C class (meant for the administration of the least advanced ex-enemy colonies as integral parts of the territories of the Mandatories) in respect of South-West Africa was accepted by the Union of South Africa; in respect of Samoa by New Zealand; in respect of Naura jointly by Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand and lastly, in respect of some Pacific Islands, South of Equator by Australia.

This experiment in the political system, it is interesting to say—devised by a Dominion Prime Minister and a co-parent of the League of Nations, General Smuts, raised the thorny problem of sovereignty over the mandated territories.

Can a part of the Empire exercise the rights of sovereignty that each enjoy an equal share of power and authority." [1] Muhammad Reza Khan was to be naib, Maharaja Durlabhram, dewan, and Jagat Set Kusalchand and Maharaja Udaichand were to act as Chiefs of Trade. The appointment and the dismissal of the foujdars, amils and other officers of the nizamut and the regulation of the entire business of the revenues were to be in their hands. All matters of difficulty,—where the nawab's government failed to keep law and order or where the three failed to act together amicably—were to be referred to the Governor and Council of Fort William who were to take measures that were found to be necessary. A member of the Council was to reside at Murshidabad, paid suitably to his rank out of the nawab's treasury and " the accounts of the receipts and expenses for the business of the government, etc., shall be laid before him monthly for his perusal." [2]

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[1] Art. 22 of the Covenant was drafted according to Baty "with high regard for Mr. Wilson's supposed announcement that he did not want a lawyer's treaty." The British Year Book of International Law 1921-22.

After drawing up these new regulations for the future government of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, Lord Clive on the 25th June, 1765, left Calcutta on his journey first to Murshidabad to confirm these arrangements, and then further up country to conclude a treaty with the Nawab Vizier of Oudh.

Soon after reaching Murshidabad, Clive found that the new arrangements were in danger. Though he had intended that none of the three should interfere with each other's authority, he now found that Reza Khan yielded in almost everything to Rajah Durlabhram and that the latter seemed to grasp all power and upset the balance. He therefore had Sykes sent from Calcutta to watch affairs at Murshidabad. Within a few days he discovered that Qaim Beg, a Court officer, had uttered some threats against Muhammad Reza Khan and Jagat Set and both had become afraid of working in the ministry thereby leaving everything to Raja Durlabh. " Whether this conduct proceeds from his own ambition, or whether he is instigated by Nundcomar or whether it be a stroke of policy in the nabob " Clive could not determine. However Qaim Beg was sent down to Calcutta and detained there. On the 9th July Clive was able to report that all concerned had signed the new arrangements, that "our business at the durbar is finished," and that the affairs in the government were being conducted with "that harmony among the ministers which we wished to be established."[1]

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[1] In justification of the selection of these gentlemen the Court of Directors were reminded that, "Roydullub was a principal agent in effecting the revolution in 1757 in favour of Meir Jaffir since which time he has continued firmly attached to the English—and that Juggut Seet is the son and nephew of the two great men plundered of their effects and cruelly put to death by that tyrant Cossim Ally Cawn on account of their faithful services to the Company."

[2] Sel. Com. Proc. of 21st June, 1765, Idem, pp. 63-80.

Thus Clive did away with the arrangements made by Spencer's government. As a matter of fact he did not like the halting character of the treaty with Najimuddowla. In a letter dated the 11th July, 1765, he wrote to the Select Committee, " We have often lamented that the gentlemen of Council by precipitating the late treaty, had lost the most glorious opportunity that could ever happen of settling matters upon that solid and advantageous footing for the Company which no temporary invasion could endanger. The true and only security for our commerce and territorial possessions in this country, is, in a manner, always to have it in our power to overcome the very nabob we are bound by treaty to support. A maxim contrary to this has of late been too much adopted ; and from that fundamental error (as I must call it) has sprung the innumerable evils, or at least deficiencies in our government, which I have now the pleasure to inform you are in a fair way of being perfectly removed." It was in this letter that Clive disclosed that Najimuddowla had agreed to make over all the revenues to the Company accepting a pension of fifty lakhs of rupees for himself. He wrote, " The nabob upon my representation of the great expense of such an army as will be necessary to support him in his government, the large sums due for restitution, and to the navy together with the annual tribute which he will be under a necessity of paying to the King, hath consented and I have agreed provided it should obtain your approbation, that all the revenues of the country should be appropriated to those purposes, fifty lakhs of rupees per annum for himself excepted. Out of this sum is to be defrayed all his expenses of every nature and denomination."[2]

It was this position which Clive legalised a month later when he obtained from the Emperor of Delhi the sanad for the dewani of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. Nothing remained to Najimuddowla but " the name and shadow of authority."

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[1] Sel. Com. Proc. of 7th July. 1765 and 10th Aug., 1765—Idem, pp. 100-105 and pp. 117-119.

[2] Sel. Com. Proc. of 10 Aug., 1765—Idem, p. 121.

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A., Ph.D.

IN the course of a few days takes place the quadrennial election of the President of the United States of America. This election is not only the main event of American life during the year but it is watched and studied with keen interest in other parts of the world as well. The elections to the House of Representatives may be passed over in silence and the return of members to the Senate may cause only a ripple in the otherwise placid waters but the Presidential election creates waves of enthusiasm that sweep over the whole country and have their reverberation in other continents. It will not therefore be out of place to give an estimate, in the paragraphs below, of the position and powers which the President happens to enjoy and exercise.

The office of the President, like other factors of the constitution of the United States, was the creation of the Federal Convention which met at Philadelphia in May 1787 and finished its labours sixteen weeks later in the middle of September of the same year. The Convention has been aptly described by competent writers as an assembly of notables. It consisted of persons who had earned ample experience in colonial and state governments, in Congress, on the Bench and in the field. They included in their list such names as Oliver Ellsworth, William Samuel Johnson, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, Robert Morris, Benjamin Franklin and, above all, Washington himself who was called upon to preside over the Convention and guide its deliberations. The fathers of the constitution were in fact most of them practical men of the world. They were not to be carried away by idealistic catchwords. They made in fact experience their only guide.

It is true that Montesquieau and his *Spirit of Laws* loomed large in the proceedings of the Convention. But when it decided upon the separation of executive from legislative powers and provided for a strong and powerful executive head of the state, it acted more upon experience and less upon the theory which had travelled from France. Since the outbreak of the war with England, the people had suffered much from the absence of a strong and independent national executive. This became consequently the one desideratum in the middle of the year 1787 when the Convention happened to meet. It rose to the occasion and provided for a President of the federation who would be the repository of its executive powers and functions and whose tenure of office would be independent of the whims of the legislature.

In England at this moment a collegiate executive was being crystallised in the Cabinet and with this model in their mind some members of the Convention were in favour of vesting the executive authority of the federation in a committee of three members instead of in a single person. Their argument was that a single person vested with sole executive responsibility might develop monarchical tendencies and become a tyrant. This argument however was declared out of court and the majority soon settled down to the view that in case a single person was given the sole charge, it would be easy to fix the responsibility and hold him accountable. In case of a collegiate responsibility again, there was the danger of differences of opinion and divided counsels. That would make for delay in reaching decisions and for undermining the vigour of the executive.

So the office of the President with his sole executive responsibility was created by the Convention and later accepted by the states. The President has his ' cabinet ' no doubt. But this body consists of the heads of departments which are run not on the ultimate responsibility of these heads but on that of the President. The members of the Cabinet are in theory appointed by the president with the consent of the Senate. But actually in these appointments the Senate does not usually interfere and the President has his own way. Again as he appoints them, so any time he may dismiss them from office. The Cabinet members so owe their office to the President and hold it during his pleasure. It may be pointed out that in Great Britain also the state of things is more or less the same. The different ministers are appointed on the nomination of the Premier and may be driven out of office at his desire. But in this country due to the exigencies of Parliamentary life, the Premier is compelled to call some particular members of his party in the Parliament to the Cabinet and has to retain their services on the same ground. His hands are more or less tied and he has freedom of choice only within narrow limits. This is not the case in the U.S.A. The President's opportunity of choice is almost unlimited. If he is satisfied that the different geographical spheres of the country are well represented in the Cabinet, he may choose any person he desires. Twice a week indeed the members of the Cabinet are called upon to meet under the chairmanship of the President and the issues arising out of the administration of the different departments are discussed threadbare in these meetings. But the final decisions as to the policy to be followed and the lines to be adopted are to be taken not by these meetings but by the President. It is of course natural that the decisions of the President would be usually based upon the sense of these meetings but if he wants he may differ from it and proceed as he pleases. The relations between the President and the heads of departments are in fact almost of the same category as the relations that now subsist between a Cabinet Minister in England and his subordinates of the permanent civil service in the department. A strong minister, with clear-cut opinions, necessary grasp over principles and details of policies and real vigour to push his views, seldom becomes a cat's-paw in the hands of the permanent civil servants. He listens to what they say but lays down the lines of action himself. He makes the permanent assistants his instrument and not his master. An able and vigorous President also similarly becomes the real head of the administration and the members of his Cabinet become only his advisers and executive agents.

Short of the declaration of war, every other duty of an executive nature is vested in the President. The war can be declared only by the Congress. But as the management of the foreign relations is in the hands of the President, he may so create the situation, and so determine the circumstances that the Congress may not have any alternative save the declaration of war against a foreign country. Some of his actions are of course subject to the approval of the Senate. The treaties that he concludes with foreign states and the appointments that he makes have to be submitted to the Senate. If it approves of them, they become effective, otherwise not. This interposition of the Senatorial veto was decided upon by the fathers of the constitution on the ground that there should be some check upon the actions of the President, otherwise he might turn out to be dictatorial and tyrannical. They like the Roman spinned their faith to checks and balances. The authority of the President must be balanced by the veto-power of the Senate. In practice this Senatorial veto has not usually worked well. So far as the treaties are concerned, the Senate on innumerable occasions refused to ratify the engagements into which the President thought it necessary to enter. In the early eighties of the last century Woodrow Wilson, then a young man, wrote a treatise on the American Government protesting against the way that the Senate rejected without ceremony the treaty proposals of the President. It is poignant to remember that about forty years later the Treaty of Versailles of which he was the most important architect was thrown out by the Senate. It was this refusal of the Senate to ratify the treaty and approve of the proposal to create the League of Nations that sent iron into the soul of the President and hastened his end.

As in the case of the treaties with foreign countries, the Senate may also checkmate the policy of the President and not unoften does it so in respect of the appointments that the President proposes to make. The Senate may stand in his way and refuse to ratify them. Soon after the conclusion of the Civil War again another demand was put forward on the part of the Senate. It was that without the consent of this body no dismissal was to take place. This demand was embodied in a statute known as the Tenure-of-office Act. It withdrew from the President his power of independent removal, which the Constitution expected him to exercise. This statute remained effective for about twenty years and during this period the position of the President was far from enviable. But when Grover Cleveland became the occupant of the White House, he resisted the shackles that were put upon his authority and by the repeal of the Act they were removed by the Congress.

Now inspite of the ' treaty-marring ' powers of the Senate and its interference as regards appointments, the position of the President is one of great authority and power. In the fields of foreign policy and appointments the Senate may enjoy the right of veto. But the initiative rests absolutely with the President. The patronage that he distributes is immense. Early in the history of the federation, the spoils system took root in the country. In 1801 when Thomas Jefferson, the republican leader, defeated John Adams, the nominee of the federalists, and became the President, he had to go back upon his own inaugural address and remove many federalists from office in order that the hungry members of his own party might be pitchforked therein. So was initiated the principle that to the victor belonged the spoils. But there was no general purgation after every Presidential election till 1829. In this year the rugged and uneducated soldier, General Andrew Jackson, became the President. His democratic outlook and frontier simplicity revolted against the respectability in the civil servants who occupied federal offices in Washington and throughout the Union. He cleansed the Augean stables and appointed his own men to the vacancies that were created in a wholesale fashion. He was of opinion that the duties of public officers were but simple and any man of intelligence could perform them. It was therefore good that these offices instead of being monopolised by a number of men should go round to different sets from time to time. So the principle of rotation in office became henceforward the rule and at every turn of the wheel of presidential election old hands would be thrown out and new men appointed.

The patronage in the hands of the President became consequently immense and large. The number of candidates again for the offices so increased and their calls upon the time and energy of the President so pressing that to escape from them became a problem to him. General Harrison in fact could not stand this strain and collapsed one month after his inauguration in 1841. The wrath of the disappointed office-seekers was again something disagreeable to face. Their resentment was not always expressed in mere words. They would be ready for physical assault as well. In one case at least, it became fatal. General Garfield was shot at in 1881 by one such disappointed office-seeker and the President could not survive this attack. His tragic death supplied the incentive for reform in the civil service. Two years after the incident, the famous Pendleton Act was passed and it took a number of offices out of politics. By subsequent measures additions were made to this list. But generally minor offices alone have been so taken out of politics and handed over to the control of the Civil Service Commission. About twenty thousand offices, mostly of a responsible character, are still at the disposal of the President. He is expected on election to drive out the existing staff from these posts and appoint to them candidates from his own party instead. An officer of the republic who has so much patronage to distribute must inevitably be a great figure, a very important in the personage country.

The President is not a member of the Congress and neither he nor any member of his Cabinet may participate in the deliberations of either the House or the Senate. The fathers of the Constitution out of set purpose made the legislature and the executive distinct and separate. They were to be independent in their own spheres. The laws were to be passed by the former and the latter was to give effect to them. But to repeat, the fathers also pinned their faith to some extent to checks and balances. Just as they allowed the Senate to balance the executive authority of the President in the matters of making appointments and concluding treaties, so they allowed the President to check the Congress in its enthusiasm for new laws. The President was given the power to veto bills as passed by the two houses of the Congress. The veto was not of course to be absolute. If a vetoed bill was passed afresh by two-thirds majority by the two chambers, it was to become law over the head of the president. One of the most important bills which so became law in recent times was the Philippines Independence Bill of 1933. But although the veto is not absolute, its exercise is frequent and is effective in most cases, and it has made the position of the President more influential and powerful.

The President was not expected by the framers of the Constitution to hold up his hands and look on passively while the Congress pursued its own legislative programme. It was not for him merely to execute laws as they came ready-made out of the anvil of the Congress. By his messages to the Congress he was to give lead as to the new laws which should be passed and as to the way that old laws should be amended and modified. As the executive head of the federation he was expected to know more of the needs of the country than any member or any group of members of either house of the Congress. It was therefore but right that he should take the initiative in framing laws and policy. It cannot be said that all Presidents have appreciated this implication of their position. Washington was an institution by himself and his leadership was a thing apart. But his immediate successors also were not ciphers. In fact till the close of the Presidency of Monroe (1824) the occupants of the White House were the masters of the situation. They did not merely execute laws, they guided the national policy. But as the Virginian dynasty fell from power, the initiative gradually slipped out of the White House. The second Adams found himself handicapped in many ways and could give little effective lead. Andrew Jackson, the home-spun Cincinnatus, of course caught the imagination of the country and revived the prestige of the

Presidency. But his successors till the election of Lincoln (1860) were hardly of any account and during the twenty years they occupied the White House, the Presidency was at the lowest ebb of influence. Lincoln of course was equal to the demands of his office and raised it out of the rut. But as he fell dead at an assassin's hand, the office of the President fell again into a comatic state. For about a quarter of a century since the conclusion of the Civil War, the Congress dominated the country and the President allowed himself to become only its executive officer. The leadership which Lincoln had himself exercised was now transferred to the Committee rooms of the Congress. This had its untoward consequences which led young Woodrow Wilson to write his dissertation on *Congressional Government* in 1884. He criticised most scathingly the government of the country by the committees of the Congress. He deplored the lack of initiative and authority which the executive head of the federation was displaying. While in England the Ministers were the leaders of the Parliament and the real framers of the policy which were embodied in its enactments, the President of the U.S.A. merely looked on helplessly as the Congress bungled and mismanaged the business which it was most illfitted to tackle on its own initiative. Mr. Lawrence Lowell who rose later on to be the President of the Harvard University gave a feeble reply to Dr. Wilson in his *Essays on Government* published in 1889. But the facts stared too glaringly for any satisfactory rejoinder. Wilson's book made a stir in the country. Partly due to this and partly due to other factors, the centre of gravity began to move again towards the White House. Grover Cleveland's Presidency gave the start and before the close of the century, Wilson in his preface to the fifteenth edition of his famous treatise was glad to announce that the tide had turned. " There is no trouble now about getting the President's speeches printed and read, every word."

Early in the twentieth century Theodore Roosevelt boldly enunciated the powers of the President as the leader of the nation and Dr. Woodrow Wilson definitely abandoned in practice the position that the President was merely an executive officer to carry out the programme as chalked out by the Congress. It was for the President to enunciate the policy and the Congress was to embody it in necessary legislations. The messages and speeches of the President now acquired a value which they seldom had possessed before. The Presidents now talked with the chairmen of committees of the two houses across a tea table and decided there and then as to the way that a particular question was to be tackled. They invited prominent but hesitating members of the Congress to a luncheon and brought them round to their own view-points. Those of the Congressmen and Senators who were not to be lured by sugared words or by the dainties on the President's table, were given baits of a different character. They might have sons and sons-in-law to be accommodated and suitable jobs might be found for them and this was certainly a convincing and effective argument which veered them to the President's standpoint. Executive leadership whose absence Wilson had so much deplored thirty years before became the chief feature of his two terms of the Presidency. But before the second term had run out, there was a revulsion of feeling. The reaction that now set in made for the choice of weaker men for the Presidency. Neither Harding nor Coolidge was really fitted to turn the tide. In the time of Hoover some strength was indeed manifested but it was really with the inauguration of the second Roosevelt in 1933 that the White House became again the centre from which all authority emanated and all initiative flowed. The economic situation which was to be tackled and the personality which he possessed were the two factors that worked in favour of this swinging of the pendulum towards the Presidency.

The theory that is now accepted is that the President is the chief steward of the people. He is the sheet-anchor of the Government. His authority is not only executive but he is also an important limb of the legislature with a nation-wide constituency to support and back him. It is time for us to see as to how this officer of so much power and authority is chosen. The fathers of the constitution did not want him to be a nominee of the legislature. That would have undermined the balance of power which they were eager to create between the legislature and the executive. Nor however did they desire the President to be the nominee of the people. Their distrust of democracy was rather pronounced. They were not of the opinion that direct association between the executive head of the nation and the common people of the states would make for any healthy result. They were convinced on the other hand that a really proper and healthy choice of the President would be ensured only if he was elected by a body of select and picked voters. Accordingly it was laid down in the Constitution that in every state on the eve of the Presidential election a number of electors equal to the number of Congressmen and Senators from that state would be chosen and then on the specified day these electoral colleges would meet state by state and select one gentleman as the President and another as the Vice-President by an absolule majority of votes. Now in case no one of the persons for whom electoral votes had been cast did secure this majority, the matter would be referred to the House of Representatives. There was a proposal that the Senate should be invested with this duty. But it had to be thrown out on the ground that the Senate had already been given considerable power which would be a check upon the President's authority. If it was further made the arbiter of President's election under some circumstances, the President would practically be at its beck and call. The fathers wanted the President to be held in leash but at the same time they wanted it to be clothed in ample authority. Consequently the House of Representatives which had otherwise no association with the President was given this function. In case no candidate could secure the majority of votes of the electoral colleges or in case there was a tie there between two candidates, the duty of electing the President would be transferred to the House of Representatives. But as in the House the states were represented according to population, the larger states might carry the election as they pleased and the smaller states might look on only helplessly. In order to obviate such a possibility it was laid down that when votes would be taken for the Presidential election, the House would be required to vote by states each of which, irrespective of their actual number of Representatives, would have only one vote.

The fathers counted without the possibility of party organisation and of an appeal beyond the college of electors, when they provided for the election of the President by picked men. The electors were chosen in some states by direct popular votes and in some by the legislatures. But barely two Presidential terms had expired and the third election was drawing close when election on party lines became certain. The public life had been divided between the Republicans and the Federalists. The former was being led by Thomas Jefferson and the latter by Alexander Hamilton. For the time the latter group succeeded in returning its own candidate, John Adams, to the presidency. Jefferson's party however became soon more efficiently organised and had its ramifications throughout the Union. The Federalists were no match for them in this matter of organisation, and they were consequently defeated henceforward in the race for power. The Presidential electors were now elected on party lines and were instructed to vote for so and so. They henceforward became nothing but automata. It was not for them to exercise discretion and wisdom. They were elected on the clear understanding that they would be voting for the party candidates, no matter if they were of an indifferent type and there were better candidates in the field. So the form of the constitution is still maintained. The President and the Vice-President are still formally elected by the electoral colleges. But the real fight takes place not in these arenas but in the country outside and among the people. It is for the latter to think and decide whether they are to vote for the candidates of this party or that and as they decide, the electors they choose become bound by the decision and vote accordingly in the colleges. So the wishes of the fathers have been indirectly superseded. The executive head of the federation is not selected as a result of cool deliberation among the picked men of the electoral colleges. He is really elected by the votes of the people. The direct election by the people which the fathers of the constitution wanted to avoid has now been practically enthroned.

While the people choose the Presidential electors so that they may vote for this or that candidate, it should be enquired as to how these candidates are selected. They are not in the field because they themselves have chosen to be there. They must be the nominees of their parties. During the first quarter of the 19th century, it was the rule that the candidates would be chosen by the party caucuses in the Congress. The Representatives and the Senators belonging to one party would form the caucus and would be responsible in this capacity for the choice of the party candidates for the Presidency and the Vice-Presidency. But in 1824 when the second term of office of President Monroe drew to a close and the Presidential election came near, it was found that this system was not meeting with approval in the country. As a result, mushroom candidates were in the field and none of them secured a majority in the electoral colleges. John Quincy Adams was selected by the House of Representatives in consequence. But in the next election four years later, party conventions were inaugurated to select the candidates. "King Caucus" was thus dethroned and party conventions, modified in their organisation at a later stage, have chosen the candidates ever since.

So long as the Congress Caucus selected the candidates, those chosen for the office of the President were men of considerable political and administrative experience. They happened usually to be men in the front rank of public life. But Party Conventions cannot be said to have kept up that tradition. In a few cases the candidates they selected turned out to be men of first rate ability. But more frequently their choice proved to be unworthy. As party organisations were stiffened and party machines set up, the conventions saw to it that able and masterful candidates were not chosen, who if successful might go out of the control of these machines. The first principle according to which party nomination was given to persons was that if they were returned to the Presidency they would agree to become pliable servants of the party bosses.

Secondly those alone should be chosen as candidates, who had really some chance of success. From this standpoint men coming from no where were to be preferred to persons who had figured in political life and had shown ability and fight. The latter in course of their activities must have made enemies as they had created admirers and friends. Their candidature would therefore evoke as much the feelings of hostility as it would inspire confidence and enlist support. Dummies with some attractive aspects were therefore to be chosen as candidates as they had the greatest chance of success. Men who had led armies to victory and men who had risen from obscurity and poverty were to be chosen for the Presidency although they might not have proper appreciation of the situation of the country and the demands of the office they were to occupy. Thus in 1840 the claims of Henry Clay and Daniel Webster were thrown out by the Whig Party and General Harrison, the Hero of Tippecanoe, was chosen as Party candidate for the office of the President. The candidature proved successful but the hero collapsed after one month's experience of office. This preference for a colourless military hero was repeated in 1848 when Henry Clay was again passed over and 'Old Rough and Ready' Taylor, the hero of Buena Vista was nominated for the Presidency by the Whigs. Able masterful men with a long record of political work were henceforward at a discount and dark or colourless horses had usually some chance of success and became therefore the nominees of the party conventions. In 1860 Abraham Lincoln was no doubt selected as the Republican candidate and was also carried to victory but this was due only to inadvertence. His appearance and manners belied the real and solid ability he possessed. It was in office that he evinced merit.' At the start his slovenly appearance and flippant speeches gave him out only as a trespasser into sacred precincts. Seward, his Secretary of State, tried to treat him as irreverently and disrespectfully as the Whig leaders had tried to treat Harrison and his successor, Tyler. He wanted to be the Mayor of the Palace with Lincoln relegated to the quarters of the bearded Merovingian. He had, however, not long to wait to be disillusioned.

But to repeat, Abraham Lincoln's ability was discovered only when he was already in office. The party Convention would not be persuaded to nominate a strong candidate. On Lincoln's death the Vice-President Johnson stepped into the White House. As the next election drew nigh General Grant, whose leadership of the Northern army was an important cause of success for the Union in the Civil War, was nominated the Republican candidate and he remained in office for two terms. But for his reputation it would have been good if he refused to enter politics and retired to private life with all the glory he had achieved as a soldier. In the White House he was only a square peg in a round hole. His immediate successors including Garfield whose early log-cabin life was so much of an asset to him were also but dark horses in politics and did not enhance the prestige of the Presidency. Viscount Bryce, whose first edition of the American Commonwealth was published in 1887, had this list of Presidents in his mind when he deplored that able men were not returned in America to the Presidency. But since the publication of the first edition of his magnum opus, there has been a gradual change for the better in this respect. Two terms of Grover Cleveland, two terms of Theodore Roosevelt and two terms of Woodrow Wilson raised the Presidency from the rut. And such was the momentum which they supplied that weak successors of Wilson could not drag it to its old depth.

One of the drawbacks of the system in vogue in the U.S.A. is that even a President who has given a good account of himself and proved a vigorous leader of the people has to relinquish office for good at most in about eight years' time. And of these eight also one year, the fourth year, is passed in anxiety and has to be devoted mainly to efforts for re-election. In the Federal Convention different suggestions were placed as to the term of office of the President. There was a proposal that the President should be elected for a period of six years and should not be eligible for re-election. But it was thought more desirable that he should be elected for a period of four years and should be eligible for re-election. If he proved to be unfit or undesirable, he would be chucked out after the brief period of four years. But if he proved a success, he might go on in office. Washington however set a precedent which the American people have not allowed yet to be violated. On the expiry of his first term of office, he was enthusiastically re-elected. But when he was pressed to stand for the third term for election as President, he was adamant in his refusal. There were mainly two reasons for this decision. Long before the close of his second term, he was being violently assailed in a section of the press. Such was his unpopularity among at least a portion of the people that on the morrow of his retirement, a journal in Philadelphia proclaimed that " this day ought to be a Jubilee in the United States...for the man who is the source of all the misfortunes of our country, is this day reduced to a level with his fellow citizens." This must have sent iron into the soul of Washington. Secondly he sincerely believed that the first Magistrate in a republican country should not be long in office. This might create a precedent which in unscrupulous hands might become a menace to the republican system of the federation.

Since the retirement of Washington from office two attempts were made to break the precedent that he had set. But they proved to be abortive. The first was made by General Grant at the election of 1880. He had finished his two terms in 1877 and was succeeded by Hayes. But as the latter's term was drawing to a close, some of the supporters of the General proposed a third term for him and the proposal was aggreeable to him He was willing to stand but the Republican Convention refused to go back upon the precedent which was set by Washington and for which the people of the U S.A. cherished so much respect. So the General was disappointed but the precedent was saved. The second attempt to break it was made more seriously by Theodore Roosevelt at the election of 1912. He had declared in 1904 that on no account he would stand again for election to succeed himself. Early in 1909 he was barely fifty years of age and full of vigour and strength. But he did not then stand for re-election. Four years later however he came forward as a candidate for the Presidential office. The official Republican Party refused to nominate him as its candidate. But he formed a party of his own, the Progressive Party, and entered the electoral arena. He was of course defeated and for the second time the precedent was saved.

The work of the presidency has now become so heavy that for conscientious workers to survive the second term has now become a problem. In Washington's time the duties were comparatively light. But with the passage of time the functions of government, and especially of the National Government in the U.S.A. have considerably increased. The burden in fact is so great that even for two terms it may appear too heavy in many cases. President Wilson was stricken before the close of his second term. Whether overwork was mainly responsible for the stroke or whether disappointment had something to do with it, it cannot be known. But that overwork had considerable share of the cause, none may deny. Calvin Coolidge also did not long survive his second term of office and it may be said that the death of Harding also was occasioned by too much strain. Under these circumstances, even if the precedent is broken few men will agree to bear the burden for the third time. But a person may be called to the presidency early in life as the first Roosevelt had been and on the expiration of his second term he may still be full of vitality and enthusiasm and may be eager to remain in office for the third term. The services of such a person should not be lost to the country so prematurely for the sake of a precedent.

It has not been mentioned so far as to what happens when the President dies in harness. The question first arose in 1841 when General Harrison died after one month of office. The Vice-President of the republic was John Tyler. Under the Constitution he was to be called upon to discharge the duties of the late President during the remaining portion of his term. He was to be his substitute but not his successor. But Tyler insisted that he must be called the President and must not be known as the Vice-President acting as President. The country acquiesced in his demand. Thus the precedent was created that in case of the President's death, resignation or inability, the Vice-president was to be his successor. Since Tyler became the President in 1841, there were five other occasions for the President to be so succeeded. In 1850 President Taylor died one year and a half after his inauguration. He was succeeded by the Vice-President, Millard Fillimore, who remained in office during the remainder of the term. Fifteen years later in April 1865 there was another occasion for the Vice-President to take up the reins of administration. Abraham Lincoln was assassinated in the moment of his victory over the seceding South and Andrew Johnson, the Vice-President, stepped into his shoes.

The third instance since Tyler's accession was provided in 1881 when Garfield died and Chester Arthur became the President in consequence. The fourth occasion was supplied by the assassination of President McKinley six months after his second inauguration in 1901 and by the succession to the office of Vice-President Theodore Roosevelt. The latest occasion for such succession was when Harding died in 1923 and Coolidge entered upon the presidential office. In the first four instances the Vice-President who became the President was not re-elected. They were only stop-gaps as possibly they were expected to be by the fathers of the Constitution. Roosevelt however showed ability and flair and was returned to the presidency as a result of the election of 1804. Calvin Coolidge was also similarly returned to the White House in 1924. The Vice-President of the U.S.A. has only one function to discharge and that is to preside over the meetings of the Senate. He is not usually called to the President's Cabinet and has seldom anything to do with the execucutive administration of the country. As the role is a humble one, able and vigorous men usually refuse to be nominated for this office. On the off chance that something will happen to the President and he will be called upon to step into his shoes, no man of ambition will care to be elected to this office which has not much to commend itself. As only second rate men may be returned to this post, they may usually become only a stop-gap in the event of the President's death or inability to work. The re-election of Coolidge in 1924 is not likely to be a precedent to be readily followed in the future.

What then are the kinds of experience that count in the choice of supreme executive officers in the U.S.A.? In the Great Britain the government being parliamentary and the Prime Minister and his colleagues being members of and owing responsibility to the Parliament, they are brought into prominence and become obvious choice for ministerships only by the skill, ability and pluck shown by them as members of this great deliberative body. They are sifted out from the rest by noble orations on important occasions, by effective interventions in critical moments of debate, and by steady and informed support of the proposals of their leaders. Administrative experience which some members may have to their credit is by itself of little account. But far otherwise is the state of things across the Atlantic. The executive not being responsible to the legislature and not even being allowed to participate in its deliberations, experience of parliamentary life is not an asset to the future President. Secondly as the legislature cannot decide the destiny of the executive and drive it out of office, its debates have hardly a romantic element about it and are not closely followed in the country. The members of the House are hardly known to people outside the districts which they happen to represent. The Senators are more widely known because of the larger constituencies they represent, the longer term of office they enjoy and the executive powers they exercise over foreign affairs and appointments. But all the same usually they also fail to make an appeal to the imagination of the country. The antecedents that have helped in the selection of Presidential candidates and the winning of the Presidential elections have of course differed from period to period. But in sum they have been diplomatic experience and membership of the President's Cabinet, good military record, and successful work as Mayors of large cities and Governors of states. Humble birth and early log cabin life have of course been an effective additional qualification since the late twenties of the last century when the wave of democracy swept over the country for the first time.

The records of Washington, the first President of the Commonwealth, need not be discussed. They are writ large across the pages of history. His successor, John Adams, was chosen on the strength of his great contributions to the winning of national freedom. The next President, Thomas Jefferson, was also a leader of the revolutionary days. He it was who had drafted the Declaration of Independence. Later he earned considerable diplomatic and official experience as well. He had been Minister to the Court of France and on his return to the country was included in the Cabinet of Washington as Secretary of State. The example of the Ambassador and the Secretary of State becoming the President was thus set and followed for one quarter of a century. On his retirement after two terms of office, Jefferson was succeeded by James Madison whose general ability and special knowledge of ancient and modern constitutions were an asset to the Federal Convention of 1787. On Jefferson's accession to the White House, he was chosen as his Secretary of State and it was from this office that he was promoted by the will of the people to the presidency. As he retired after two terms, he was succeeded by James Monroe in this office. He had been minister to different European capitals as Paris, Madrid and London before he became the Secretary of State under Madison and from this office he stepped into the shoes of his chief.

John Quincy Adams who succeeded Monroe in 1824 had also the same antecedents. He had been Ambassador to the Court of St James and later Secretary of State in the Cabinet of Monroe.

With the second Adams, the age of diplomatic Presidents came practically to a close, and that of the military men was ushered into being. It is no doubt not true that from Jackson to Garfield all the Presidents were military heroes. Lincoln's scuffle with the Red Indians cannot for instance give him a military title. But the trend of the period was undoubtedly towards an acceptance of military men as candidates and Presidents. In the middle eighties with the election of Grover Cleveland the third period was introduced when experience as administrative officers became more and more appreciated. Cleveland had been a successful Mayor and a vigorous Governor. Roosevelt was a member of the Civil Service Commission and then Governor of the State of New York, when he was nominated for the Vice-Presidency. W. H. Taft had been Governor-General of the Philippine Islands and member of Roosevelt's Cabinet. Woodrow Wilson had been the go-ahead President of the Princeton University and the successful Governor of the State New Jersey before he was nominated a candidate for the Presidency. The second Roosevelt had also made the Governorship of New York his stepping stone to the White House and it is interesting to remember that his rival in the coming election is Mr. Loudon, the Governor of Kansas. The tendency in fact is at present definitely against the rival of the militarist tradition in the choice of presidential candidates. The soldier-presidents except in the case of Andrew Jackson were abject failures and the American people are unlikely to discredit themselves by entertaining them in these days when the President occupies such a vital and crucial position in the administration of the country.

THE POSITION OF ELECTRICAL INDUSTRIES IN JAPAN.

P. N. GHOSH.

Ghosh Prof. of Applied Physics, Calcutta University.

THE phenomenal growth of electrical industries in Japan within the last six years is perhaps not known to many of us. We can only judge the industrial activity of Japan by the Japanese products in our market, its cheap price and its large variety. Sometimes it becomes matter of indifference simply because we have associated everything japanese as cheap and worthless. The prevailing idea about Japanese products happens to be that they are very clever imitations and without going into actual facts one simply ascribes the cheap price to cheap japanese labour, to State support and to other factors unknown to us. It would be, therefore, of interest to get an idea of the Japanese industries when it is assessed by an eminent authority in engineering. Prof. Dugald C. Jackson was the head of the electrical engineering section of the Massachusets Institute of Technology, a tutor of a generation of eminent electricians of America. He visited Japan in 1930. He is at present delivering a series of lectures in Japan under the Idaware Foundation after his retirement. He spent some time in Japan in studying japanese industrial processes and their results. He states that a flying visit to the country is not sufficient to afford grounds for conclusion, because the facts in the problem are jointly bound up with japanese knowledge of science, their experience and ability in organisation, the conditions which afford favourable living for work people in Japan and their intelligence. These important features cannot be observed in a passing glance, tourist fashion. The Japanese have made great improvements regarding their industrial ideas and practices during the past six years and it would be extremely difficult to realise the growth that could happen in so short a time.

It is a fact that like every eastern country Japan had home handicraft of different denominations well established in the country, forming a habit of dexterity and assiduity hardly attained in a factory type of organisation of many Western countries. The development of mass industry has not irradicated these home and village industries but have absorbed the surplus in these large-scale productions. The industrial situation of the nation has therefore been of a mixed type and in the early stages, there had been an embarrassing situation for uniformity in quality of export goods. Certain lines of goods such as cotton and rayon-cloth have not deeply suffered from these embarrassments but in other lines of production they have been very great.

As an illustration of the home and handicraft industries that of silk is of great importance. The peasants control the quality of cocoons but the reeling had been a problem difficult to be solved.

A large part of the reeling is now executed at central filatures operated under careful supervision and has provided uniformity in the quality. Two excellently equipped silk conditioning laboratories are in operation at Yokohama and Kobe to standardise the quality of silk for export purposes.

The industrial instinct of Japan has grown so rapidly within these last six years that the development of capital is progressing with speed and the need for still more capital produces an urgent desire to increase export trade in manufactured goods. The nation as a whole is deeply affected by the impact of the forces set up by industrialisation and the people do not think that they have yet gone far enough to develop foreign markets for their manufactures.

There had been a view prevalent in the west that the Japanese will be always copyist and followers in their industrial processes and production. This view has been entirely proved to be wrong by the rapid development of its industries and introduction of new processes and invention in their manufacture. The nation now seeks to secure an additional margin for comforts and recreations. They claim assurance of continuity in the provision of food, clothing and shelter at a level higher than the minimum required for the conservation of life. Japan could not meet this challenge until its population, especially its intelligent element, had become competent to originate and manufacture machines to meet its own need to device precision methods and to construct delicate instruments to be employed for exact standards of production. No nation can meet this challenge for providing the abovementioned conditions unless these abilities are properly developed. No nation can secure provisions that are more than sufficient to maintain a bare and meagre life until it can adopt means by which it could satisfy its own requirements. It is quite clear that crude agriculture, fishing, hunting and disorganised artisanship can maintain a population in a state of perpetual poverty but the greater desires of people having a consciousness of civilization, require for their satisfaction the addition of complex products, produced at reasonable costs, by means of an organised system of manufacture. Moreover, manufactured products of assured quality having prices within the reach of all, are available only from the result of quick methods and precise workmanship executed by machinery. The prime factor required for such machinery means exactness of standards and accuracy of measurements. No industrial development is possible in any nation by simply adopting some methods of manufacture without going into the fundamental aspect of standards and instruments of measurements needed for the working machinery. It will be of interest to consider the methods adopted in our country by the different Departments of Industries which have been brought into existence after the Indian Industrial Commission of 1919. Here one notices an absolute lack of co-ordination and foresight in the different activities of these departments. Individual manufacturing processes have been taken up as appealing to the common mind, but there has been no attempt to establish the aforesaid fundamentals, which are essential for industrial development.

The Japanese struggled as industrious copyists for a few decades but the fundamental requirements are now well understood by them. Applied sciences, research of effective orders, stimulation of invention and resourcefulness in the design and the construction of machines and structures, improvement of manufacturing processes, appreciation of the principles of rigorous organisation have all been introduced, each as a component part in producing effective and permanently influential industrial results. The Japanese are an able race. Stale minds do not produce greatness in design of machines, instruments and structures, any more than they do in the production of poetry and the japanese distinguish themselves in both fields.

The dominant industries of Japan are in fields occupied by the major industries throughout the world. For Japan it is a misfortune to be short of raw materials of her own, except those, from which luxuries like silk and tea are derived. She has, therefore, felt that she must direct the bulk of her manufacturing, towards articles, the raw materials for which are cheaply and continuously obtained from the world market. She has, therefore, adopted cotton textiles, rayon, rayon textiles, although the raw cotton must be imported. The iron and steel products have been taken up, although a good part of the iron ore must be imported, since she wants machine tools, machineries, measuring instruments, locomotives and ships essentially for her manufactures and commerce. Her chemical manufacture has of late been specially directed towards metallurgical products such as, aluminium, electrolytical products such as, chlorine and caustic soda and chief among all, the artificial fertiliser for her agriculture. It is interesting to note how the organised attempt in this line by a single illustration. In 1930, aluminium was not manufactured in Japan. In 1936, she has produced 3,500 tons, though bauxite, the essential mineral for the industry, is mainly secured from outside.

The canning and exporting of sea foods such as fish and shell fish are examples of the few instances of the industries for which Japan possesses its own major raw materials in sufficient quantities.

The progress of the electrical industries of Japan during these years has been indeed great. In the early stages of japanese electrical industries, they were aided by American and other foreign capital and management but they soon discovered that this state of affairs can never be financially sound and economically satisfactory for the nation. The management is now entirely Japanese. In a few instances foreign companies maintain more or less advisory relations. There are now in Japan three manufacturing concerns competent to design and construct large generators for steam turbines and motors for other purposes. In steam-turbo generators the greatest rated capacity of individual electrical machines designed and constructed in Japan is 50,000 KVA in steam turbo-generators. Generators 75,000 KVA individual capacity have been designed and are likely to be constructed next year. It might be of interest in this connection to note that though electrification started earlier in India than in Japan there has not been any attempt on the part of Indian enterprise or of any British concern to design and to construct generators or motors even of single horse-power. The generating sets of Japan run excellently and reliably. In hydro-electric generators either manufacturers themselves design and construct the turbines or they are done by their affiliates. The largest individual capacity hydro-electric generator is of 35,000 KVA. They are for high-head work as compared with the most of the large plants of America and their speed is usually higher than the American. Their operating characteristics give the impression of reliability and excellence and indicate that the japanese have proved themselves excellent designers and constructors of large size power-generating plants. In view of the fact that oriental regions are awakening to the larger use of electricity for light and power, a spirit of optimism prevails in electrical machinery circles. Though at present the most of their products are absorbed in Japan and its affiliated neighbour Manchokuo, there is no sense of insecurity, as they are sure of finding suitable markets for their products.

The standard voltage for power transmission through long distances is 135,000 volts and the Japanese are successfully building both 3-phase and single-phase transformers of large individual capacities on conventional designs. The switch gear is entirely japanese, though their magnitude may not be of the same amount as that of the American, but a visitor is impressed by the many transmission lines from various directions which enter active industrial areas like Osaka and adjacent cities. There can be no doubt that the ready and convenient supply of electric power available to industrial plants of all kinds whether large or small, has been an aid of importance to the rapid progress of industrial development within the few years. Considering the prices of other things, japanese prices for industrial power are no more favourable to the users than the prices paid for power by American industries. Part of the capital of these power companies have been raised by floating bonds in foreign countries and some of them are quoted among the security lists of exchanges in America and Europe and trading in them is quite active.

The railroads of Japan are of narrow-gauge construction. They are owned and operated by the Government through a ministry of Railways. The main line from north of Tokio, Yokohama, Osaka to Kobe carries a heavy passenger traffic and a good part of this line is electrified using 15,000 volts D. C. with contact wire. The overhead construction is light and neat but substantial and confer great credit to the engineers of the Railway Ministry and the staff is entirely indigenous. The sub-station equipment consisting of rotary converting machinery have been changed to mercury-arc rectifiers and japanese engineers have proved themselves competent designers and manufacturers of both types of machinery.

The japanese are great travellers. For people of small income and like other people in eastern countries, they flock to the 3rd class accomodation in which the fare is low and arrangements crude, but attention of the railway authorities is well directed to the convenience of this class of travellers as the operating people claim that they constitute the profit of the railroads. The smoothness and cleanliness of electric fraction is appreciated by the patrons and it is being rapidly extended on the main lines. Engineers of the Railway Ministry claim that the electrification has proved much more economical than the steam system. During the early stages a number of American and European locomotives were secured and arrangements were made to run them along with locomotives of japanese make. With the experience thus secured definite specifications have now been drawn up and electrical parts for locomotive for particular services are now interchangeable, whatever manufacturer produces the parts. Within the last three years, all the locomotives are of japanese make and they seem to be competent to meet the operating needs in an excellent manner.

The telegraph and the telephone systems of Japan are operated by the government through a Ministry of Communication. The telegraph service is good and relatively cheap. Telegrams in English or languages using the Roman alphabets may be transmitted by the usual dot and dash code, but this plan fails for the transmission of the written language and special expedience is used for the purpose. Telephone service is very widely used in Japan and there is a huge rush to secure telephone connections and it is stated that a subscriber in Tokyo may secure an appreciable amount of money by selling his number to his successor. It may be worthwhile to mention that the apparatus and instruments are of entirely of japanese origin.

Manufacturers of radio receiving equipment apparently have notable prosperity. Forests of antennae are seen in many places above the groups of small japanese houses in the outskirts of cities and much of the military material in the radio field has been constructed for government use. The government has recently promulgated quite low rates for commercial radio telegraph service between Japan and Japanese ships at sea, both inland and high seas, and this announcement was received with great favour by the public.

In more general lines of electrical apparatus such as electric lamps, storage batteries, small motors and so on, Japan is substantially self-sufficient. About half a million incandescent lamps are made daily, perhaps one-third of them being made in one factory of modern type, having its own research laboratory in co-operation with the University, to determine controls of production and to originate new products of processes. This factory could compete satisfactorily in the qualities of output with any American modern lamp works. It is, however, interesting to note that little if any of this product gets into the export trade which usually comes from smaller and less competent manufacturers. Electrical household equipment is not as extensively used as in the States but the extension of the use is being urged by manufacturers.

The industrialisation of Japan depends on the export trade to a degree which is difficult for Americans and other foreigners to appreciate. Since the growth of industrial activity and wares coming from it have clearly aided in the improvement of the living conditions, this result is dependent on the export of its manufacturing products. In any event, Japan can no longer be looked upon as a market for American electrical apparatus and is likely to become a warm competitor for electrical business in foreign markets.

over territories not ceded to it, not even handed over to it, but to its Central Government in respect of which by Art. 22 (6) of the Covenant full responsibility for its administration has been conferred on the former? Art. 22 (1) and 22 (2) described the system as "a sacred trust" and the condition as one of "tutelage." But where rests sovereignty? Lindley in his book the "Acquisition of the Government of Backward Territory in International Law" holds that sovereignty, over the mandated territories of South West Africa lies on the Union of South Africa and the decision of the Appellate of Division of Supreme Court in R. *vs.* J. Christian (1924) S. A. A. D. 101,[1] strongly supports the above view. General Hertzog, Premier of the Union as mouthpiece of his Government voiced the same opinion soon after the judgment. It is difficult to say how far these unilateral declarations bind others,—least of all, the League. But the preamble of a boundary treaty contracted by the Union Government with Portugal in 1926 [2] states that the Union Government "possesses sovereignty over the territory of South West Africa...lately under the sovereignty of Germany." The "full powers" to make this treaty were issued by the King—as recommended by the Imperial Conferences of 1923 and 1926—and no objection was put in by the Imperial Government to the wordings of the preamble. But in opposition to the above theory there are other views, some of which assert that sovereignty is divided between the League and the Mandatory, that is, the Dominions in the above cases; others, while placing it on the League leave the actual exercise of sovereignty with the Mandatory.[3] But one thing is clear. The Dominions can be sovereign over new territories, or at least can exercise rights which are hardly distinguishable from those of sovereignty over these areas, though not formally absorbing them.[4]

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[1] Jacobus Christian, an inhabitant of South West Africa, a "C Class" mandated area under the Union of South Africa, was convicted of treason by the lower court. He appealed against the conviction on the ground that high treason can only be committed against a sovereign power which has no superior and that the Union Government entrusted with the work of administration of South West Africa by the League mandate was not a sovereign authority in the real sense of the term. The Appellate Court "while agreeing that the powers of the Union Government were limited by the terms of the mandate" made a distinction between external and internal sovereignty and held that the Union Government "had sufficient internal majestas" for the breach of which the appellant could be rightly convicted. For an exhaustive discussion of the case see the Journal of Comparative Legislation (1924) VI; British Year Book (1925).

[2] Treaty Series, No. 29 (1926).

[3] Lauterpacht, Private Law Sources and Analogies of International Law. For a summary of opinions see Editor's Note in Oppenheim (1928), pp. 213-17.

[4] The writer is greatly indebted to Oppenheim and Lindley for discussion on the subject of Mandate System and the Dominions.

The formation of the League of Nations gave the Dominions an opportunity for moulding their aspirations into a substantive form in international politics. In the Council of the League, the British Empire like all other independent and sovereign states is one unit, but in the Assembly of the League, the self-governing British Dominions (excepting Newfoundland) and India were given separate seats and votes.

It must be noted here that the treaty-making powers of the Dominions, discussed above, did not give them real international status or make them subjects of International Law, for, the Dominions "simply exercised for the matters in question the treaty-making powers of the mother country which had been to that extent delegated to them."

The international status of the Dominions is more or less the result of expediency and so more political than legal questions are involved in it. In the abortive Franco-British Treaty of 1919 [1] guaranteeing France against any "unprovoked movement of aggression by Germany" there was a clause that the Treaty "shall imposeno obligation upon any of the Dominions......unless and until it is approved by the Parliament of the Dominions concerned." The much-maligned Locarno Treaty of Mutual Guarantee of 1925 [2] has substantially the same provisions. S. 9 of the Locarno Treaty says: "The present Treaty shall impose no obligation upon any of the British Dominions or upon India unless the Government of such Dominion or of India signifies its acceptance thereof." Again, in the signature of Optional Clause for Compulsory Arbitration the British Government and the Dominions made many reservations, only the Irish Free State signing the Treaty unconditionally. The attitude of the Union of South Africa in the matter of the signature of the General Act of 1928 was hardly in conformity with the declared policy and intention of the British Government and it is a common knowledge that Canada smarting under the grievance that in the negotiations relating to the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, she was not separately represented, refused at first to sign the Treaty and only did so when pressure was put upon her, to avert an unseemly constitutional and international complication.

Now the question arises, Is a Dominion bound by the international agreements of the British Government entered into without the former's express consent ? Has a Dominion the right to take a line of action in these matters, contrary to the one taken by the Mother Country ? As regards the first point, it is clear from the position of Canada with regard to the Treaty of Lausanne, that the Crown by its sovereign right can make war and peace, binding all the parts of the Empire. Professor Keith rightly observes that " the Treaty of Lausanne by the British signature and ratification bound Canada. But one point is clear. It did not bind Canada to adhere to its terms, *i.e.*, Canada is not under any constitutional obligation to send troops to vindicate its terms." As regards the second point, the freedom of action of the Dominions, as pointed out above, became evident in the attitude of the Irish Free State when signing the Optional Clause and the General Act of 1928 for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes and in the refusal of the Union Government to sign the latter. So it is submitted that not only can a self-governing Dominion refuse to bind itself by the terms of an international treaty entered into by the British Government (not involving declaration of war or of peace), but can perhaps act, if necessary, to a certain extent, counter to the Imperial authority, though, of course, the validity of such an action, on the part of a Dominion would always be questioned by the latter and also sometimes by the foreign powers affected.

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[1] Treaty Series (1919), No. 6 Cmd. 221.
[2] Treaty Series, No. 28 (1926).

The Halibut Fisheries Treaty [1] of 1923 is an important event in the sphere of diplomacy of this period. Oppenheim describes the Treaty as a " landmark." It was a treaty contracted between the U.S.A. and Canada to regulate the industry of halibut fishery. The Treaty negotiated solely by the Canadian government, was signed only by the Canadian Minister of Marine and Fisheries and not by an Imperial representative—a departure from the rule enunciated by the Imperial Government in 1895 and a definite advance in the treaty-making powers of the Dominions. But one important factor must be borne in mind. The " powers " to sign the Treaty were granted by His Majesty as advised by the British Secretary of State and it is needless to say that without such " powers," an international treaty between a foreign state and a part of the Empire would be legally invalid. And as the English jurists contend that the Crown is indivisible and present everywhere, it does not matter whether the Treaty was signed by the British Ambassador at Washington or by a Minister of the Canadian Government. This novel procedure was approved by the Imperial Conference of 1923 and the Canadian Government, two years later, registered the Treaty with the Secretariat of the League of Nations under Art. 18 of the Covenant.

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[1] Cmd. 1987; The British Year Book, 1923-24, pp. 168-69; The British Year Book, 1925, pp. 1931-43; Harrison Moore in Journal of Comparative Legislation, 1926, pp. 21-37.

The Imperial Conferences of 1923, 1926 and 1930 [1] deserve a special mention. That these periodical assemblies were not the venues where statesmen from the Dominions met the British Ministers for an intellectual tug-of-war can be best seen from the substantial achievements of these conferences. The Imperial Conference of 1923 [2] laid down that " no treaty should be negotiated by any of the Governments of the Empire without due consideration of its possible effect on the other parts of the Empire, or if circumstances so demand on the whole of the Empire." The Conference formerly acknowledged the right of the Dominions to contract treaties with foreign Governments and the resolutions of the Conference only exhorted the different parts of the Empire to be chary, when making concessions to a foreign Government. The Conference also confirmed by a resolution the practice adopted in the Halibut Fisheries Treaty, contracted a few months earlier. One defect of the Treaty resolutions of the Imperial Conference of 1923 was that while approving the method of separate negotiation by the Dominions, it left to the Dominion Government which negotiated a treaty to decide if and how far, any other part of the Empire might be interested or affected by its action. The Imperial Conference of 1926 remedied this defect by recommending that details of a treaty intended to be contracted by a Dominion, should be communicated to all other parts of the Empire. The resolutions of the 1926 Conference further stated that the " full powers " to sign a treaty should be issued by the King on the advice of the Dominion concerned, and not upon the advice of His Majesty's Government in London. The net result is that the treaty-making powers are now inherent in the Dominion Governments and not delegated by the Imperial Government.

The main achievement of the Imperial Conference of 1926 was the Report of the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee presided over by

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[1] In 1911, the Imperial Conference met for the first time as " Imperial Conference." Before this, opportunities were availed of by the Colonial Prime Ministers on important occasions like Queen Victoria's Jubilees in 1887 and 1897 to come to London and discuss various inter-Imperial problems. Before 1911 these meeting were called " Colonial Conferences."

[2] Cmd. 1987.

Lord Balfour. It made the famous declaration that the " group of self-governing Communities composed of Great Britain and the Dominions " are " autonomous Communities within the British Empire, of equal status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegience to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." A happier formula, from the point of view of the self-governing Dominions, could hardly be evolved. The heart of every enthusiast for " Dominion independence " pulsated with ecstasy when Newfoundland or New Zealand was declared equal in status with the mighty Great Britain. But the words are not always perfect in conveying the sense they are intended to do, and the committee rightly thought that caution was necessary and added the rider: " But the principles of equality and similarity appropriate to status do not universally extend to function. Here we require something more than immutable dogmas."

The Balfour declaration of equality of status did not bring forth a certain change in the relationship between the Mother Country and the Dominions. It only formerly acknowledged the result of a process which was slowly evolving for the last 60 years ; it did not make any momentous change—it simply affixed a seal of approval to the constitutional position, which the self-governing Dominions had attained through a procedure not always defined but nevertheless definite.

From the history of the autonomy of the Dominions, it was evident even to a most casual observer, that, though there has been a remarkable change in the status of the Dominions, mainly due to practices which developed into conventions, the actual law governing the relationship between the Mother Country and Dominion was stationary. It was found necessary to "change the legal forms to bring the facts into the line" with the theory. The result was the Report of the Conference on the Operation of Dominion Legislation, which was discussed and substantially adopted in the Imperial Conference of 1930 and which ultimately became the basis of the Statute of Westminster 1931.

Now, it may rightly be asked,—what is the validity of the resolutions of the successive Imperial Conferences, apart from those incorporated in the Statute of Westminster 1931 ? In reply, we may say, that from the very beginning of self-government in the Dominions, the various matters between the Dominions *inter se* and between the

Dominions and the Imperial Government have in most cases been regulated, not by strict legalism but by practices gradually crystallised into binding definite rules and the Imperial Conferences only put them into definite and coherent forms, as agreed upon by the representatives of the Dominions.

We may here mention that along with the treaty-making powers, the international position of the Dominions was reflected in the establishment of legations by some of the Dominions in the capitals of Europe and America. Thus in 1924 a Minister plenipotentiary was accredited to the U. S. A. by the Irish Free State, " the powers " being issued by the Imperial Government, " for handling of matters at Washington relating to the Irish Free State" and the same State has also a Resident-Minister in Paris. Other Dominions followed suit. Canada has established legations at Washington, Paris and Tokyo. The foreign Governments too made ready response and on the belief that there would be no International complication with England, they established legations in the Dominion capitals, *e.g.*, the United States in Ottawa and Dublin and France in Ottawa, etc.

We now come to a landmark in the history of development of the Dominions. In the post-War development of the conception of Dominion Status, the proper implication of the term can be best understood with reference to the constitution of the Irish Free State. Whereas constitutional conventions were the most important factor in developing the status of the Self-Governing colonies like Canada, Australia and South Africa, as regards the Irish Free State, the Dominion Status was attained, as stated above, by a single enactment. For a proper appreciation of the peculiar constitutional position of the Irish Free State and its prospective, we require to discuss some of the important Articles of her Constitution Act.[1]

Ireland was for centuries governed with an iron hand as an integral part of the United Kingdom,[2] and the intense national feeling that grew out of an alien rule, not only wanted to establish a government of her own, but that completely free from the British association. The Government of Ireland Act 1920 which was perhaps the first serious attempt to solve the Anglo-Irish tangle, did not satisfy Southern Ireland, as the Act greatly restricted the powers of the Southern Ireland in many important matters. As the result of the refusal of Southern Ireland to work the Act, guerilla warfare of the worst kind broke out. The unhappy state of affairs was sought to be ended by a treaty, contracted under peculiar circumstances between the British Government and Irish representatives,[1] so that Ireland might take her place " in the great association of free nations over which His Majesty reigns."

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[1] For a detailed study, see the Constitution of the Irish Free State by Kohn; Studies in the Constitution of the Irish Free State by McNeill. For an account of the Anglo-Irish relations see the *Calcutta Review*, August and September, 1935. Mr. St. Nihal Singh's article in the above two issues of the *Calcutta Review*, is an admirable survey of the facts up to 1935.

[2] *Cf.* Grattan's comment :—" The Channel forbids unity, the Ocean forbids isolation."

This agreement known as " the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland " gave birth to this new State—the Irish Free State. The Dail (the Irish Parliament) subsequently summoned, ratified the Agreement as did the Parliament at Westminster. A constitution was drafted by the Dail and duly passed by it and the Treaty and the Constitution formed schedules to the Act passed by the Imperial Parliament known as the Irish Free State (Constitution) Act, 1922.

The first point that attracts notice in the said Constitution Act, which has many a new constitutional provision unknown to any of the Dominion Constitutions, is the preamble which speaks of the " *undoubted right and authority*" *of the Dail,* " sitting as a Constituent Assembly to enact the Constitution." A preamble does not purport to state law. It only explains the *raison d'etre* or circumstances[2] which induce a legislature to pass an Act. In what light then are we to take the preamble quoted above ? It is known that Mr. Eamon de Valera, head of the Irish Sinn Feiners, in the initial stage of negotiations for truce, claimed independence for Ireland, a claim eventually given up, when Mr. Lloyd George threatened not to receive the Irish delegates at the proposed conference. But the Irish pepole contend that the authority of the British Crown that had ceased to function when the Treaty was signed[3] and that the Treaty and Constitution Act got statutary sanction through the Irish Dail.

Again, Article 2 of the Constitution declares : " all powers of

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[1] See Pakenham's ' Peace by Ordeal ' (1935), for a dramatic description of the circumstances that led to the signature of the Irish Treaty in 1921. Mr. Pakenham takes his stand on a new ground, *e.g.*, duress and intimidation on the part of Mr. Lloyd George at the time of the actual signature of the Treaty which, according to Mr. Pakenham, vitiated the Treaty.

[2] *e.g.*, the preamble of the Statute of Westminster, 1931.

[3] John Buchan (now Lord Tweedsmuir, Governor-General of Canada) says in his Jubilee Book " The King's Grace, 1910 to 1935," that King's writ ceased to run after 1919 in the greater part of Ireland.

Government and all authority, legislative, executive and judicial, in Ireland *are derived from the people of Ireland* and the same shall be exercised......through the organisations established by......this Constitution."

Article 12 reads: "*The sole and exclusive power* of making laws for the peace, order and good Government of the Irish Free State (Sasaostat Eireann)" is vested in the Oireachtas. That all powers are derived from the people and that the Irish Parliament is the only authority to make laws for the Irish Free State are provisions not found in the Constitution of any other Dominion. When we see that Mr. McGilligan, the Ex-Minister of Justice, a Cosgravite, and Professor O'Sullivan, another strong critic of de Valera and a member of the opposition in the de Valera regime, are ready to sail in the same boat with de Velara on the issue of sovereignty, we are constrained to admit that the words in the preamble and Art. 2 are something more than empty verbiage or sweet and sonorous platitudes.

But perhaps the most important provisions in the Constitution, from the point of view of our discussions are Sec. 2 and Art. 50, both dealing with the power of amendment of the Constitution. Is the power of amendment of the Constitution limited by the terms of the Treaty? In other words, what are the limits of sovereignty of the Oireachtas? Can it amend an Imperial Act, for the Treaty, as stated above is a schedule to the Imperial Act. When the Irish Dail passed the Constitution (Removal of Oath) Bill 1932, the question of amendment of the Irish Constitution and the obligatory character of the Treaty were debated with an acrimonious zeal in the Parliaments at Westminster, in Dublin, in the press and platform, hardly equalled by any other previous discussion on a question of inter-Imperial concern. The Bill when passed, it is asserted, not on only removed the obligatory character of the Oath on every member on the Oireachtas, making it optional for him "to be faithful to the King" but repealed Section 2 which reported to make the Treaty the guiding factor in the matter of the interpretation and amendment of the Irish Constitution. The complexity of the question becomes all the more apparent, when we see that the form of Oath as expressed in Art. 17 of the Constitution Act and Art. 4 of the Treaty is substantially different from the Oath prescribed in any other Dominion Constitution and this prompted Lord Birkenhead, himself a signatory of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, to describe the Oath as "the greatest prevarication in history." In the Irish Constitution a member of the Irish Parliament is asked "to swear faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the Irish Free State" and only to "be faithful to the King." But in the Constitution of the Union of South Africa, a member of the Parliament is to swear to be "faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty" (Sec. 51 of South Africa Constitution Act). The Oath in the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia is the same as in the Union Constitution, and the Oath in the Constitution of the Dominion of Canada contains the same words. It is argued that the allegiance demanded of the members of the Irish Parliament is primarily to the Constitution and that it is only secondarily that a member is exhorted "to be faithful to the King,"—a view, which will not only make a Liberal or a Unionist of the Gladstone-Disraeli regime turn in his grave but one hardly acceptable even to a British Socialist. No doubt in the wordy fight, in the passage of the Bill de Valera and his party won the day, but then it is not what we call Dominion Status that they were striving for and it must be said to the credit of de Valera that he did not make any secret of his ultimate motive from the very day when he refused to put in his signature in the Anglo-Irish Treaty in 1921.

But, does the removal of Oath from the Constitution free the Irish people from allegiance to the Crown? There can be only one answer to this question and that in the emphatic negative. "The vast majority of His Majesty's subjects do not require to take any Oath. Nevertheless they do not cease to be His Majesty's subjects." (Lord Hailsham, in the House of Lords, May 1933). No doubt, from this point of view, the much debated Oath loses much of its importance, but it cannot be denied that if allegiance to the Crown is one of the fundamentals of the unity of the Empire, then its formal denunciation, if not of any legal effect in absolving a citizen from his allegiance to the King, does not at least strengthen the bond that unites the nations of the British Commonwealth.

Again, by the Irish Constitution Amendment Act (No. 22) of 1933, the Oireachtas abolished appeals from the Supreme Court or any other Court to the Judicial Committee. Art. 2 of the Treaty says that in the relationship between Great Britain and the Irish Free State, the law, custom and constitutional usage of Canada in her relationship with the Mother Country should be followed. Now if the Statute of Westminster, 1931, has given Canada power to take away the right of appeal, as decided in the recent case of British Coal Corporation and Ors. *vs.* King (1985) A.C., then it follows that by virtue of Art. 2 of the Treaty,—which insists on the Canadian model—the same right should be extended to the Irish Free State. But the Irish Free State can only take advantage of the Statute of Westminster, 1931, if she gives up her claim of "sovereign rights" and "undoubted rights," for the Statute, an Act passed by a Sovereign Legislature, cannot possibly have any application to another Sovereign State. As a matter of fact, the Irish attitude with regard to the Statute, is one of benevolent indifference, for the Irish people, though availing themselves of the benefits of the Statute,—according to some the Magna Carta of the Dominions,—contend that it does not enlarge the powers of the Irish Parliament—(which, they contend as we have seen, is a sovereign body),—but only declares the rights already enjoyed by it, a view shared both by the de Valerites and the Cosgravites.

The spirit that prompted the Irish Government to make so many radical amendments in the Constitution Act within such a short period of its existence, can be best examplified by the latest legislative manoeuvre of de Valera. By the abolition of the Senate, which had so long been allowed to exist by sufferance, a new kind of dictatorship has been set up under de Valera which is without a parallel in the history of any Dominion. If it is self-government, certainly it is dictated by an oligarchy of lean majority, unfettered in its action by any theory of Constitutionalism, undaunted by any superior power, and heading on towards a goal not yet formally declared by any Dominion, as her ulterior destination.[1]

What the Irish Free State under de Valera is fighting for, is not a half-way rest-house but a complete and unequivocal recognition of her international status and this attitude can be best judged from her act of applying direct to the League of Nations for admission to its membership. The Anglo-Irish Treaty, too, was sent by the Irish Free State for registration with the League Secretariat under Art. 20 of the Covenant, to which the British Government objected, with the result that the League registered the Irish Treaty but published both the Treaty and the British protest without passing any opinion on either of them.

(To be continued.)

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[1] The real aim of de Valera, in the words of Mr. J. H. Thomas, Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, is "recognition of a United Ireland, as a Republic, with some form of association with the British Commonwealth of Nations, in some circumstances, and for some reasons and the recognition of the King as the head of the Association." This was the comment of the Dominion Secretary on the 14th November, 1923. D de Valera stick to this objective at present, or does he want to go a step forward ?

THE BYRONIC HERO—A STUDY IN DEVELOPMENT.

AMIYAKUMAR SEN, M.A.
Calcutta University

3. The Byronic Hero—The Third Stage.

THE BACKGROUND OF PERSONALITY.

THE wanderer returned. He stood before an altar with a gentle bride. Bitter memories of the past were all there—a tablet of unutterable thoughts traced upon his countenance. His experiences abroad had, however, taught him patience and he

> " ....stood calm and quiet and he spoke
> The fitting vows, but heard not his own words
> And all things reel'd around him."

All on a sudden, the antique hall, the " beauteous presence" of " her who was his destiny" came floating into his memory and " thrust themselves between him and the light." Such a marriage could never be happy and the poet's consort became, in course of time, his bitterest enemy. She gradually raised up against him "a monument whose cement hath been guilt." His hopes for future happiness now withered away. Deserted by his wife, shunned by the world which had worshipped him, Byron became a mark for

> " ......blight and desolation, compassed round
> With hatred and contention........................"

Instead, however, of the spirit of revenge which it was very natural for him to cherish, a calmness of despair and a strange mood of introspection fell on his soul.

> " Perhaps the workings of defiance stir
> Within me—or perhaps a cold despair
> Brought on when ills habitually recur,—
> Perhaps a kinder clime, or purer air,
> Have taught me a strange quiet."

He had, indeed, sustained his share of worldly shocks ; but he did not strive to "screen his errors with defensive paradox." His whole life was a contest for his "fate or will" was wayward.

> " I blame not the world, nor despise it,
> Nor the war of the many with one;
> If my soul was not fitted to prize it,
> 'Twas folly not sooner to shun."

Nature again became his consoler. The Alpine landscape instilled into his mind a tranquility rarely to be found in the haunts of men. He now, like his Childe Harold,

> " ......made friends of mountains, with the stars
> And the quick spirit of the universe
> He held his dialogues"
>
> " To him the book of Night was opened wide,
> And voices from the deep abyss reveal'd
> A marvel and a secret..."

Often he sought relief, in artistic creation,

> " In lone caves, yet ripe
> With airy images, and shapes which dwell
> Still unimpaired, though old, in the Soul's haunted cell."

He was fully aware that

> " 'tis to create, and in creating live
> A Being more intense that we endow
> With form our fancy, gaining as we give
> The life we image........."

Thus alone could he forget the past, the human fraities which marked it, the "vortex of passions" which withered up his soul.

Childe Harold, III.

When, therefore, the poet took up, after a long interval, the composition of Childe Harold's Pilgrimage he could, no longer, keep up the disguise. The Childe was not "a mere creature of the imagination." He represented Byron's inner self. The creator now revealed himself through his creation. "Secure in guarded coldness," Harold mingled with the crowd deeming

> " ......his spirit now so firmly fixed
> And sheathed with an invulnerable mind
> That, if no joy, no sorrow lurked behind."

He could not, however, submit to the clamour of the multitude. "Proud though in desolation" he grew restless, "stern and wearisome" in human society. "Grown aged in a world of woe" he wanted to forget "earth and earthborn jars." But he did not hate mankind. He merely recognised the fact that he was not "fit with them to stir and toil."

> " Is it not better then to be alone
> And love earth only for its earthly sake ?"

He now looked upon nature and found a deep bond of sympathy between her different manifestations and his human soul. The mountains, waves and skies were a part of him and of his inner self. He loved them with a pure passion and when compared with them all other objects sank into insignificance. Nature was the only consoler

> " Where rose the mountains, there to him were friends ;
> Where roll'd the ocean, thereon was his home;
> Where a blue sky, and glowing clime, extends
> He had the passion and the power to roam.
> The desert, forest, cavern, breaker's foam
> Were unto him companionship; they spake
> A mutual language......"

TASSO.

Tasso, similarly, becomes an expression of the Byronic mood, rather than a portraiture of the Renascence poet of Italy. He has the same romantic emotions as can be easily recognised in the Byronic heroes of the verse-tales. When Tasso laments for his love and the desolation of his heart, we seem to catch echoes of the Giaour. His love dwells deep in his heart. When it comes into contact with the beloved it flashes forth into an all-consuming spark which burns up his soul. A romantic glamour invests it with a beauty all its own and, enveloped by such a glamour, his beloved becomes "a crystal-girded shrine worshipped at a holy distance." In her presence he loses his personality. The world is "past a way." The earth is annihilated. Yet there is in him a strength of mind which defies oppression. " Long years of outrage and calumny," "imputed madness " and "prison's solitude ;" the maniac cry of lunatics, their half-inarticulate blasphemy "—he has endured them all. But he is " too proud to be vindictive," he cannot "stoop to despair." It is only in art that he finds a refuge from bitter memories of the past.

> " I have battled with mine agony,
> And made me wings wherewith to overfly
> The narrow circus of my dungeon walls ;
> And treated the Holy Sepulchre from
> And revell'd among men and things divine,
> And poured my spirit over Palestine."

DANTE.

Dante was invested with the same proud defiance and unshaken fortitude. He was never cowed by " tyrannous faction or the brawling crowd." " The old exile's spirit, stern and proud " could not be quenched by oppression. He had met " Destruction face to face in all his ways." Thoughts of revenge often thronged into his mind "

> ......Revenge
> " Who sleeps to dream of blood and waking glows
> With the oft-baffled slakeless thirst of change
> When we shall mount again, and they that trod
> Be trampled on..........."

"Corrosive passions," "feelings dull and low," "the retrospect of half a century, bloody and black," thoughts of his " lonely old age, heavy and helpless"—they all seemed to overburden his soul. And often he had to appeal to God to help him to suppress thoughts of vengeance

> " Great God!
> Take these thoughts from me—to Thy hands I yield
> My many wrongs, and Thy almighty rod
> Will fall on those who smote me,— Be my shield."

"Brought face to face with divinity" in his glorious visions, conscious of Divine Mercy even "in peril and in pain," "in turbulent cities and tented fields," he could not wreak vengeance on a city which once was his. Full well he knew, like Childe Harold,

> ".........'tis the doom"
> "Of spirits of my order to be rack'd
> In life to wear their hearts out, and consume
> Their days in endless strife, and die alone."

But one consolation was his—the consolation that his name might form "a monument not obscure" and that

> "......future thousands crowd round his tomb,
> And pilgrims come from climes where they have known
> The name of him."

One dream he cherished—the dream of creating a language for his native land. He would develop another language, lofty and sweet,

> "......in which expressed
> "The hero's ardour, or the lover's sighs,
> Shall find alike such sounds for every theme
> That every word, as brilliant as thy skies
> Shall raise a poet's proudest dream
> And make thee Europe's nightingale of song."

Strong passions, romantic love, pride even in the midst of desolation, a total absence, or suppression rather, of the spirit of revenge—the Byronic hero of this period had them all. Completely isolated from the world and conscious of his inability to mingle with the crowd, he now sought refuge either in nature or in the realm of artistic creation.

MARINO FALIERO.

The heroes of Byron's dramas have the same Byronic tinge. They all suffer irreparable wrongs. After the toils and fatigues, "the blood and sweat of eighty years" the old Doge of Venice appealed to its judges for bare justice. The penalty fixed by the Forty to "the grossest insult, most contemptuous crime" of a rank rash Patrician seemed to be a mockery. Trembling with the shock and proud of his high lineage and lofty office, Marino Faliero muttered wild words of revenge. His brain ached beneath his ducal bonnet. His temples "throbbed feverish" under its weight. He longed for the days of his youth when "yet his body served his soul as serves the generous steed his lord." He longed to shatter

> " ....the briarean sceptre
> Which this hundred-headed senate rules,
> Making the people nothing, and the prince
> A pageant............"

He now associated with the conspirators against

> " This o'ergrown aristocratic hydra
> The poisonous head of whose envenom'd body
> Have breathed a pestilence upon us all."

Definitely opposed to the vengeful Doge stood his young and beautiful wife Angiolina. Unlike other heroines of Byron, she had a strong personality of her own and this she used to calm down the troubled soul, the turbulent spirit, of her husband. The bloodshed of her reviler would only make her miserable.

> " I am too well avenged, for you still love me
> And trust, and honour me; and all men know
> That you are just, and I am true; what more
> Could I require, or you command ! "

But Faliero's ideas of vengeance were coloured by idealistic visions of liberated Venice. He was relentless in his advocacy of a massacre of the aristocrats for without such a massacre his dreams of cleansing the city of the Patrician pestilence could not be realised. With the ardour and enthusiasm of a poet he pictured to himself the glorious future of Venice. They would—

> " ......renew the times of truth and justice
> Condensing in a fair free commonwealth
> Not rash equality but equal rights
> Proportion'd like the columns to a temple
> Giving and taking strength reciprocal
> And making firm the whole with grace and beauty,
> So that no part could be removed without
> Infringement of the general symmetry."

The Byronic hero never hesitated. But Marino Faliero was made of entirely different stuff. When, after his able advocacy, the conspirators decreed the death of nobles it was Faliero who began to vacillate. Confronted by the leader of the conspirators with the fact that he had himself passed their sentence and it was a just one, the poor old man who had spent eighty long years in close association with the victims, cried out in the anguish of his heart—

> " These hairs of mine are grey and so are theirs,
> The elders of the council: I remember
> When all our locks were like the raven's wing,
> As we went forth to take our prey around
> The isles wrung from the false Mahometan;
> And I can see them dabbled o'er with blood?
> Each stab to them shall be my suicide."

It is only when Bertuccio reminded him that he must call back his nerves to his own purpose that Faliero assured him—

> " Doubt not, fear not ; I
> Will be your most unmerciful accomplice !
> And yet I act no more on my free-will,
> Nor my own feelings—both compel me back,
> But there is hell within me and around.
> And like the demon who believes and trembles
> Must I abhor and do."

With calm resignation to his fate he confronted the Senate. It oppressed both the prince and the people ; he would free them all. The price of his success would have been glory and vengeance. He failed and he knew full well that the penalty of failure was present infamy and death—

> " I would have shown no mercy and seek none;
> My life was staked on a mighty hazard,
> And being lost, take what I would have taken."
>
> " I deny nothing, defend nothing, nothing
> I ask of you, but silence for myself
> And sentence from the court."

He longed for vengeance indeed ; but his vengeance was entirely different from that of the Giaour.

SARDANAPLUS.

Sardanaplus, on the contrary, is a poet. " The cooling breeze which crisps the broad clear river" the sunset that "tints the snow with rosy shadows" the tinkling of musical instruments, "the softening voices of woman," the flash of bright gems—they all appeal to him more than visions of glorious exploits and mighty conquests. Like the Corsair he is wrapt up in his beloved. He dares not breathe his own desires lest they should clash with hers. He would rather lose an empire than her presence and he cannot endure any reflection on her character. Eager to drink in the joys of life he does not understand the warlike spirit of his people. Why should they murmur? He has not shed their blood nor led them to die in thousands among the sands of the desert,

" Nor decimated them with savage laws
Nor sweated them to build up pyramids
Or Babylonian walls."

He had simply tried to ease the burden of his subjects, just " make them feel the weight of human misery less." He has not interfered with their civil rights and privileges. He wants to "let them pass their days as best as it suits them" reserving to himself the liberty of passing his own days as it suits him. He does not want to make his name "a terror and trophy," but once roused, he faces the rebellion of his subjects with the stern masterfulness of his ancestors. Once his blind faith in those who serve him receives a rude shock, once the very persons whom he spared out of the generosity of his heart rise in revolt against him, the courage and fortitude dormant in his character manifest themselves. He rushes into the battlefield and, firmly determined to die where he was born, instils new courage into his followers. He disarms the rebel chiefs and turns sure defeat into glorious victory. There is in his character the same world-weariness as we find in Childe Harold. Once he brushed aside all suspicions as "vain bickerings spawned in court by base intrigues and baser hirelings." Now he finds these very slaves whom he protected and pampered, ready to swarm forth in rebellion. His faithful friends are very few in number and he regrets that after years of benevolent rule he has to uphold his rights with force of arms. His dream of making his rule " an era of sweet peace, 'midst bloody annals," "a green spot amidst desert centuries" fades away into nothingness. He does not, however, hurl defiance against the world. On the contrary, he faces death with calm resignation.

> " Our annals draw perchance to their close,
> But at the least, whatever the past, their end
> Shall be like their beginning—memorable."

Francis Foscari.

Francis Foscari is of a stern heroic mould. With more than Roman fortitude he presides over the trial of his son. He puts his natural self under strict restraint and surveillance. He "must not weep" but sternly carry out the sentence of the court. He has borne so much that words no longer shake him. The disgrace of his beloved son hurts him no doubt, but he is the "stoic of the state" and it is only when his son is dead that his stoicism breaks down. He faces the conspiracy against him with the same fortitude as his son's disgrace and death. He has no thoughts of vengeance. On the contrary it is the arch-conspirator who stands before us all afire with lust of blood. His very associates recoil from him and Byron takes every opportunity of emphasising the fact that vengeance is inhuman.

It will be wrong to regard the dramas of Byron as single-character plays devoid of interest. There is enough of dramatic conflict in them to justify their claim as closet dramas of remarkable power. Their heroes have, however, an unmistakable affinity with the Byronic heroes of earlier days. Marino Faliero reminds us of the Corsair while Sardanalapus and his romantic temperament have their counter-part in Selim of the Bride of Abydos. There is, however, one very significant change. Revenge, which in the Giaour formed a very prominent characteristic of the hero gradually recedes into the background. Angolina is an angel of forgiveness who stands in sharp contrast against the brooding spirit of her vengeful husband. The poetic soul of Sardanaplus, though heroic enough to defend valiantly his rights, cannot even think of wreaking vengeance on his rebellious satraps. Revengeful Loredano (in the Two Foscari) stalks gloomily along despised by nobler spirits.

(To be continued.)

HOW TO ORGANISE A LIBRARY?

KHAN BAHADUR K. M. ASADULLAH, B.A., F.L.A.,
Librarian, Imperial Library, Calcutta

THIS paper is intended for the benefit of persons who are in charge of small libraries, but who have not been initiated into library technique. The subject has been dealt with in an evolutionary manner, so to say ; for it deals with the book from the time its purchase is intended for the library to the time that it is ready for use.

I will therefore proceed with the selection of books first. For this purpose, reviews as they appear in good periodicals and journals of literary value should be consulted. In fact, it is the primary duty of a professional librarian to keep himself in touch with all such notices that appear in the press or otherwise. Publishers also bring out syllabuses and lists of their books, which contain notes explaining the nature or contents of books. These of course are helpful in knowing what books have been brought out on a particular topic, but the notes are to be carefully valued. The persons who make use of the library should also have a voice in the selection of books. This can be done by giving them a suggestion register, wherein they should be at liberty to note down what they think should be added to the library. Here again the intelligence of the librarian should work, as sometimes interested readers will make suggestions on behalf of book-sellers. The best source to know the Indian publications is the catalogue published by every Provincial Government, which contains a list of all the publications published in that province during every quarter. The reviews of some of these books shall have to be looked for somewhere else. One defect about these catalogues is that they are published so late, and the people are ordinarily anxious to have a new book as soon as possible. These are the various sources that should be consulted for suggesting books. The suggestions should be scrutinised by a small committee consisting of persons who are considered to know certain subjects well, or whose literary taste is acknowledged.

The merit of a book is not the only criterion by which it should be judged. By this, I mean that a book may be quite valuable, but its presence may not be of much use in a particular library. The type of the library, and the type of its clientèle have also much to do with the purchase or selection of books. Again, the librarian is expected to be an impartial judge. He is not to allow his personal inclinations or taste to predominate, and thus feed one section of the library at the cost of others. To observe the uniform growth of the library is his first duty. The amount to be spent on books should be fixed, and this should be divided into several heads, to allow a certain amount to be spent upon each subject, that is represented in the library. There should be a regular account book to show the amount spent in this way. Arrangements for the purchase of books should be made, if possible with some firm of standing, which will enable the library to get special terms, which will mean some financial saving, and a good deal of saving in correspondence, etc. The record of books ordered will be clear from order cards, which can serve the purpose of joint suggestion and order cards. These cards should contain the undermentioned particulars about the book:

Author; title; edition; number of volumes; publisher; date of publication; price; and the source from which the suggestion has been taken.

These particulars when added to by Indent No., and the name of the supplier, make the suggestion card an order card. On receipt of the book, the date of receipt and any other special particulars should be recorded, so that till the time the book is catalogued, this card will serve the purpose of supplying all the information about the book.

On receipt, the book must be first checked with the indent to see that that is the book ordered. After that, examine the book from page to page, to see that it is perfect. A new book should be opened properly to avoid the binding being damaged. The proper method to do so is to hold it perpendicularly between both hands, so that the back of the book rests on the table. The left-hand cover should first be straightened to touch the surface of the table, and then the same should be done with the right-hand cover. After this, a few pages from either side should be flattened alternately, and gently pressed from point to point along the side where they are fixed on to the cover. This process will save books from being abruptly opened by impatient readers, who thus unintentionally damage the binding.

Now is the time to stamp the book on the title page with the Library stamp, to show ownership. This stamp should have space for recording the Accession Number, and date. Another small stamp should be stamped on a fixed page. Every library chooses a page for the purpose of stamping that page in every book, as a help to trace the book, if through any reason it happens to go astray.

After this the book should be labelled. The labels usually used are the book-label for writing the call number of the book ; the book-plate which is also intended for the same purpose ; the date slip ; the book-packet ; and the book-card, etc., if any recognised charging system requiring the use of the three last-named labels is in vogue. But, I would recommend the use of date-slip even if any such charging system is not in use in any library. Thereby the borrower knows the date when the book is due for return to the library. Special care should be taken to paste the book label, for if carelessly pasted, it will come off in no time. Such of the libraries as can afford apply a coating of liquid ammonia before pasting this label ; use gummed labels ; and preferably linen labels. In case of libraries which stand on a still higher plane, this label has been dispensed with, and the call number is written on the back of the book directly on the surface. Still others have the number lettered into its surface.

The book plate is used to show the ownership, and the call-number of the book, in the event of the book label coming off. The book should next be accessioned. The Accession Rregister is a record of the books of a library in the order in which they are added to it, or say it is a chronological record. This record will furnish at any time the total number of books to be found in the library, *minus* of course the books that haye been withdrawn from circulation. This record will also furnish the information as to the value of the library, either for insurance purposes or any other. It can give at any time the history of any book, *i.e.*, when it was added to the library ; at what cost ; from what source was it received ; or was it bought or received as a gift. This register is to show the following particulars about every book ; *i.e.*, date of receipt ; serial number (accession number); author ; title ; number of volumes ; publisher and place of publication ; kind of binding ; size ; price ; source of supply ; name of donor, if a gift ; the call number assigned to it ; and the withdrawal number when it is withdrawn from circulation for any reason.

After accessioning should come classification. Without entering into a discussion as to the comparative value of various schemes of classification at this moment, I would commend to the notice of all concerned the superiority of Dewey Decimal Classification which is applicable to all kinds of libraries, whether big or small, with equal facility. For small libraries, there is the abridged Dewey, and for still smaller ones, there is the Outlines of Dewey. It is not correct to assume that if Dewey is to be adopted, it should be adopted in all its details. Not only it can be applied in detail, but in still bigger details than those shown in the book, if necessary. It can also be applied to a small library of one, two or three thousand volumes, by applying only three figures. Unfortunately, there is some unfounded prejudice in certain quarters about the efficacy of Dewey as far as vernacular literature or Indian literature is concerned. Barring vernacular literature, for which the numbers assigned are rather lengthy, I have never found any difficulty in using Dewey for any purpose. During my recent visit to Hyderabad, I was extremely pleased to see the expansions of Dewey to suit such subjects, as Islam ; and Arabic, Persian and Urdu literatures ; and the expansions themselves were as exhaustive as Dewey. This one instance is sufficient to show the practicability of the scheme. Whatever prejudice there may be, it is due to the fact that the scheme has either not been properly understood, or it has not been given a fair trial. But one thing must not be overlooked, and that is that the expansions should be worked out by an authorised body, say a Library Association. Otherwise if every library were to bring forth its own expansions of the various subjects requiring that treatment, the possibility is that things may become worse still. Another drawback of this haphazard expansion will be that the scheme will lose its one important feature, uniformity. Dewey does not recognise the language in which a subject is treated, but always takes count of the subject, excepting in Class 8, literature. In our libraries, the tendency seems to be to keep books written in various languages separate from one another, irrespective of subject. But a living language like any living organism, will produce literature on all subjects. Take the case of Bengali language. We find books on Agriculture, on Music, on Economics, and on technical and industrial subjects. But even if it be admitted, that the division by languages facilitates in certain ways, or cannot be helped in Indian libraries, then there will be as many groups in a library as there will be languages. If books are arranged by language, a student wanting to know books on a particular subject shall have to skim over all sections of the library formed by language division. Hence, the point should be carefully considered, as to why books on Agriculture written in Bengali cannot be kept side by side with books on Agriculture in English, or German. In big libraries, English, French and German books on particular subjects will all be found together; where is the reason then that Bengali books or books in Hindi or Urdu treating of the same subject should be kept separate. If this idea of separating books by languages could be dispelled, many problems connected with classification of Indian libraries will be saved. When mixing up books in this manner, a symbol to show the language in which the book is written could be added to the call number, if it be assumed that the title of the book is not sufficient to indicate the language in which the book is written.

In order to distinguish one book in a class or division or section from another in the same class, division or section, it is necessary to use some distinguishing mark. This is possible in more than one way, say by adding the Accession number to the Class-number; or by marking the books in numerical order after the Class-number. But both these ways are defective in so far that if an author writes more than one book on the same subject, the two books will stand separate from each other, on the shelf. In certain libraries, the initial letter of an author's name is used along with Class-number. But if there be two or more authors whose names begin with the same letter, and in case they have written on the same subject, this device will also fail. Such difficulties are confronted however by big libraries, and as such they should not frighten the keeper of medest stock of books. These libraries can easily adopt any of the said methods. The proper method however is to use Cutter's Author Tables.

The next step is the Shelf List. Shelf List is a record on cards of the contents of a library (one card for each work) prepared in the order in which books stand on the shelves. Or in other words, it is a miniature library, each card representing the book it stands for. This list in small libraries besides, its legitimate use, can serve the purpose of a Classified catalogue, Its actual use is to check the contents of the library from time to time; or it is a tool for taking stock of the library, as necessary. Another use of this is to show the relative strength of each section or subject in the library, so that deficiencies can be made up, as required. I would strongly recommend the introduction of this record in all libraries, which have the safety and preservation of their collection in their heart.

VILLAGE SCHOOLS IN RELATION TO VILLAGE NEEDS

J. C. GUHA

Bankura

It is a welcome sign of the times that people have begun to think seriously, and almost furiously about education, especially as unemployment is blasting the life and prospects of many a youngman. This educational thinking, however, has followed the line of destructive criticism more than that of helpful, constructive suggestions. This is due, in my humble opinion, more to confusion of ideals in the educational field than to anything else.

To be useful and effective, the system of education will have to be tuned to the needs of society, and, what is equally important, will have to steadily follow definite ideals clearly laid down in advance, where possible.

When a school aims at the making of leaders of society, leaders in thought and action, it has to be so organised that it can efficiently carry out that objective. It will require an efficient staff wide awake to the duties which they will be called upon to perform, and full of zeal for the cause. It should also have the guidance of one who has had the experience of life and methods obtaining in the "Public Schools" of England, for the latter type of schools has best fulfilled the primary object of secondary education. The curriculum should also be distinctive, and should be biased by local conditions and needs wherever it is necessary. It is suicidal for a country to force uniformity of ideals and methods on all secondary or analogous schools. When such a policy is followed for any considerable time, the result is bound to be disastrous as it has been in Bengal.

When, again, a school aims at mass education, it should follow a curriculum that is fairly wide, but not deep, while, at the same time, suited to the rousing of curiosity in different branches of study. The teachers employed must be able to do justice to the subjects independently of the text-books prescribed, in such a manner as to rouse the latent thirst for knowledge in many of the pupils who will continue to satisfy that thirst after they have left school.

The products of secondary and higher education will, therefore, supply the leadership and enterprise in all the higher endeavours of society while those of elementary or primary education will carry on with efficiency and bring to fruition those endeavours.

In the field of liberal education in Bengal, there is, on the one hand, the absence of an efficient system of elementary education complete in itself, and, on the other, a network of so-called secondary schools, ill-equipped and imbued with no adequate idea of the mission they are to fulfil. The emergence of different types of schools, belonging to different stages and following well-defined ideals, has become an essential need. Each stage should, however, lead to the next higher one, but at the same time, be complete in itself. The wastage of effort and the lapsing back into illiteracy owing to the want of well-thought-out systems are appalling.

In the field of liberal or general education, with which we are concerned here, three distinct classes of schools, each with distinct ideals, can be thought of, as they are in the United Kingdom. They are: (1)

The elementary schools, in which the fundamentals of knowledge are imparted to the children of common people so as to make them fitted for the ordinary avocations of life ; (2) The secondary schools, in which general knowledge is pushed both in quantity and quality, and the scholar generally coming from the better ranks of society is made fit for more intensive and specialised studies and for the higher avocations of life ; and (3) The Central schools, which are intermediate between the two former classes and make the pupil fitted for the practical arts of life demanding greater knowledge and skill than ordinary in the industrial and commercial lines.

In the matter of general culture, it is wrong to think of making a distinctive type of schools for villages and another for towns, for culture is all-embracing and hardly allows any artificial divisions, although there can be specialisation according to needs and resources. Ideally speaking, all education should be imparted in an atmosphere of quiet, away from cities, in the midst of smiling Nature with healthy sunshine, pleasant fields, and murmuring brooks. Touch with cities, facilities for quick approach and modern conveniences and sanitary arrangements are also as necessary.

In the first two types of schools that I have described above, it is vain and, perhaps, unsound to think of giving a rural or an urban bias to the school according to its location, except that the surroundings may be tuned to the locality and the extra-curricular activities fitted to the environment. Large fields for play and recreation, tanks for swimming and rowing, gardens for the cultivation of the aesthetic sense as well as the practical art of growing kitchen vegetables, cultivated fields for farming on a large scale and stables and pens for cattle and poultry farming—are some of the facilities that can be provided at village schools at comparatively little cost. Specialisation in games, and especially small area games, music and the fine arts, flower and vegetable gardening, debates and lectures, and especially lantern lectures, listening to radio talks and programmes, school excursions into the surrounding country and industrial areas are some of the lines suggested for urban schools in particular although they can also be adopted for village schools at equal cost. It, therefore, appears that village schools are in a position of advantage so far as the provision of extra-curricular activities are concerned, and should be the better nurseries of talent than town schools can be.

Now, as to schools of the Central type, their curriculum, although pushing general knowledge to a sufficiently high standard, should have an agricultural or industrial and commercial bias according as they are situated in rural or urban areas. It will be no use colouring the curriculum of schools of the general type with such a bias. If it is done, it will only result in adding to the confusion which holds the field to-day.

After having made these general observations, I will proceed to give my scheme for village schools as they should be. I will try to sketch what the village needs to-day and how their wants may be fulfilled by appropriate remedies.

The village needs many things, of which literacy is merely the starting point. Every good endeavour, every move for the betterment of social condition hinges on the spread of literacy among the masses through efficiently organised schools of the elementary type. Some may murmur that literacy accompanied by the fundamentals of knowledge cannot be the panacea for all the ills of life. They may, however, remember that literacy, though apparently a small thing in itself, rouses the dormant forces of the human mind, and changes the entire aspect of human society if pushed systematically among the masses for a number of years. The cumulative effect of compulsory primary education is very great, indeed, as has been proved not only in Britain, but also in all other countries of the civilised world. It seems, therefore, essential that without any further delay, a network of schools should be built up throughout the country, in villages as well as in towns, and those schools, whether in villages or in towns, should aim at the teaching of elementary knowledge in appropriate surroundings and in an efficient manner. The work had better be entrusted to the School Boards with experts as whole-time Secretaries. The Sub-Inspectors may take their directions from the Boards through the Secretaries. The education of the masses has become imperative in view of the approach of the Reformed Constitution depending on the vote of a much larger body of voters, and can no longer be postponed.

The villager gets his first touch with the bigger world through the rudiments of knowledge imparted at school. So, the curriculum should be framed on broad and general lines before it can be made to subserve his special needs. The touch with the villager's ordinary pursuits can only be maintained through carefully selected pieces introduced in the readers and through such extra-curricular activities as farming and gardening. The latter, however, should not be overemphasised, for they are, after all, subsidiary to the main objective of widening the mental outlook. The need of the moment is to improve the standard of teaching in the primary and middle English schools, and to place them on a stable, national basis.

Touch with the outside world can best be fostered through a knowledge of the English language and literature. To the Bengali mind, at least, education connotes, among other things, some knowledge of English. It seems essential, therefore, that English should be taught at least as an optional subject in all the middle schools, for the villager may not remain a villager all through his life, and he needs the elements of culture as much as the townsman does. There can be no artificial barrier between the two as, in fact, there is none.

Considering the position of India as a member of the comity of nations and considering the actual developments which have set in, it is wrong to think that the country will ever remain an agricultural country exchanging the produce of the soil for the manufactured goods of other countries. She may mainly confine her attention, like Holland, to small industries. and to industries subsidiary to agriculture, but the natural process of growth for the villages seems to be towards the building up of subsidiary industries and making themselves into small townships with good roads, good schools, dependable dispensaries, electric power and other amenities of life. The standard of living has gone up, at least, for some classes, and will go up for others after a few years of mass education conducted under State supervision.

So, while the extra-curricular activities of village schools should take the forms connected with farming and agriculture, excursions to industrial areas for the purpose of study and observation seem to be an essential need, just as the town pupil needs the enlightenment of village life and village methods and occupations. Such an interchange of ideas and experience is necessary for both the parties.

The village school should not only be the centre of light and place for recreation for the younger folk of the village, but also the meeting ground for culture and recreation for the elder section of the community. Every school should have a hall big enough for holding meetings of the entire school as well as those of, the village. In this hall may be placed the village library including the daily papers and periodicals. The head master of the school or the secretary may form the link between the life of the school and the larger life of the village. Books and periodicals of juvenile interest may be kept apart and in separate book-cases, where necessary, in the same hall. When the school is in session, the hall may serve the purpose of the Assembly Hall and Common Room for the school.

It may also be used as the forum for lectures and talks given either by the teachers of the school or by official and unofficial visitors for the benefit of the entire village. One such lecture every month may be laid down as the essential minimum for the teachers of the school, especially if the school is a secondary one.

In a country where the vast majority are illiterate, every device is to be thought of for the education of its children as well as the adult population. Among such devices radio talks and programmes should occupy the foremost place, especially where distances are great and communication difficult and scanty. Every school or village hall should, therefore, have a wireless installation for the delectation of the school children and their elders, and every school should have on its staff one teacher who knows the principles of wireless communication and the methods of handling the instrument. For this and other needs and activities, specially trained science graduates will be best fitted to help in village education.

Another agency of adult education is the night schoal. where voluntary workers, probably from the ranks of members of Union Boards, members of school committees and leisured but educated gentry, will be the main pillars. Wonders have been achieved in this line in England, and there is no reason why similar results cannot be obtained here if the forces of social service are properly harnessed to the uplift of the masses. The school building will, of course, be the place for holding these night classes and will supply the necessary furniture and apparatus.

The school can also be the venue for health, arts and crafts exhibitions as well as those for industrial and agricultural processes and implements. The school vacations can be utilised for these purposes as also for the holding of musical soirees and such other social functions. The revival of innocent social pleasures is almost as important as the enlightenment of the rural masses. Many a traditional lore which the villager used to learn from such musical expositions as Jatras and Kathakatas is now a sealed book to his illterate brother of the present days, for those educative forms of social enjoyment have all but disappeared. The village world is now dark and forbidding, and its gloom is not relieved even by a hearty laugh, not to speak of the serene rays of culture. Chill penury freezes the genial current of the soul, and party factions reign supreme when and where the stranglehold of poverty is relaxed. For the reconstruction of the village, the village school will supply the base, for, of a country's resources the human element is the most potent factor and is to be reckoned above everything else.

J. GUHA.

At Home and Abroad

Indo-British Trade Talk.

Good progress appears to have been made by the unofficial advisers to the Indo-British Trade negotiations in their discussions to formulate the proposals for a new Trade Pact with the United Kingdom.

Despite the reticence scrupulously maintained by the participants in the discussion, they have compiled an export schedule, namely a list of articles of Indian export on which Indian commercial opinion as represented by the advisers demands preferential treatment in the British market.

It is believed that in most commodities they have demanded larger margin of preference than is allowed under the Ottawa Agreement and certain items excluded under the 1932 Pact have been included in the present Pact. Cotton and certain seeds are reported to have come under the category.

Advisers appear to be busy now in regard to the import schedule, namely, the extent of preferences to be granted to British goods. It is said that the British Board of Trade would be satisfied if in general commodities and manufactures the preferential treatment granted under the Ottawa arrangement continues.

The British proposals have, however, not yet reached Simla. The advisers hope to complete their work within a short time and disperse till they are called to examine the British proposals before sailing for London to carry on negotiations there.

O'Duffy to join Franco.

General O'Duffy, who claims to have raised an Irish Brigade of 2,000 men for service in Spain, has crossed the frontier 'en route' to Burgos and Pampeluna to see General Franco and General Mola. It is stated that General O'Duffy's plan is that the Irishmen should go out in mufti and enlist in the Spanish Foreign Legion.

Portugal represented in Committee Meeting.

Portugal, which hitherto has not attended the committee for non-intervention in Spain, was represented at to-day's meeting (September 28) by the 'Charge D'Affaires' in London. It was originally intended that only the sub-committee should meet to-day, but in view of the Portuguese attendance steps were taken to convene the full committee.

The Portuguese Government in agreeing to join the Committee emphasised that their previous reserves were mentioned in their entirety.

M. Litvinoff's Pungent Speech at Geneva.

At the meeting of the League Assembly on September 28, M. Litvinoff pungently retorted to Herr Hitler's Nuremberg Pronouncement.

M. Litvinoff declared that State leaders who enumerate the vast foreign territories which they intend to seize cannot sincerely accept Article X and a State which preaches the legality of a so-called localised war cannot make peace with Article XVI.

An aggressor who bases his policy on the superiority of brute force is only amenable to the cold calculation of the relative strength of forces. The aggregate power of the peace-loving countries considerably surpass the strength of any possible combination of countries which an aggressor might muster. Joint action by those forces would avert the peril of war and compel the aggressor sooner or later to ask to be admitted into the common system of collective security.

"We are far from objecting to attempts to reach an ageement with even the most aggressive of countries, but we are against allowing them to dictate the terms of the negotiations or paying them a bonus for condescending to negotiate" he said.

Germany has no eye On Soviet Territory.

The Consulate General for Germany, Calcutta, has issued the following to the Press:

The reports in the Soviet papers, that Chancellor Hitler at the Nuremberg Congress demanded the Ukraine, Urals and Siberia for Germany, are characterised as deliberate deceptions and falsifications in a statement issued recently by the "Deutsche Nachrichtenburo," the demi-official news-agency. Chancellor Hitler never made any such demand, but merely drew comparisons between the achievements of National-Socialist Germany and Bolshevist Russia, declaring that the latter with immense natural resources had not been able to organise adequate provisioning of her own population nor develop her industries. He then continued by asking, what would not any other Government have made of such fruitful regions as the Ukraine and Siberia and of the mineral wealth of the Urals.

Danzig Problem settled.

A settlement has been reached of the Danzig problem arising from the hostility of the local Nazi Government to the League High Commissioner, Mr. Sean Lester. Mr. Lester has been appointed Under Secretary General to the League. The name of his successor in Danzig has not yet been announced. This compromise settlement, while affirming the position of the League in Danzig, will satisfy Germany's obejction to Mr. Lester personally.

Japanese Garrison Sailors shot at

Eight shots were fired at three Japanese sailors in Hongkew District in the International Settlement. One was shot dead and the others wounded in the chest and arm respectively. One Chinese, carrying a revolver, has been arrested. The sailors belong to the permanent Japanese garrison. A battalion of marines landed from the Japanese flag-ship to reinforce the Japanese garrison. Wearing steel helmets and with fixed bayonets the marines marched into Hongkew. Chinese residents fled panic-stricken from the distrits.

The Japanese naval spokesman announced that Japanese marines are to take up "emergency defence positions" embracing most of Chapei as well as the whole of Hongkew.

The Japanese marines have cordoned up the Hongkew district. Theatres and cinemas were emptied in the middle of the performances and the audiences searched. Armoured cars patrolled the streets and guards were mounted on the Japanese Embassy and other buildings. Machine guns were placed at strategic points.

A high Japanese official is of opinion that the murder was the work of a secret Chinese patriotic society with heaquarters in Shanghai.

Chinese Government blamed

It is feared that Sino-Japanese relations are on the brink of a major crisis. The Japanese Ambassador after a lengthy conference with high Japanese officials has declared that the Hongkew incident showed that far stronger measures would have to be applied to eradicate anti-Nipponism from China. He accused the Chinese Government of lack of good faith towards Japan and said that it must bear the sole responsibility for the rampancy of anti-Japanese activities in China.

Japanese marine guards and patrols have been withdrawn to their barracks from Hongkew and Chapie except in the immediate neighbourhood of the place where the Japanese blue jacket was murdered.

The Chinese police have resumed control of the area concerned.

Assurances that there would be no immediate rupture of diplomatic relations between China and Japan as a result of the recent anti-Japanese incidents have been given by the spokesman of the Japanese Foreign Office in Tokyo.

They would try to solve the outstanding problems by negotiations but were afraid that negotiations would he fruitless, unless the Chinese authorities manifested more sincerity.

If the negotiations failed they would try another measure with great determination.

A Nanking message states that a Japanese Note has been presented to the Chinese Foreign Office protesting against the Hankew and Honkew incidents in which Japanese subjects were murdered and demanding a guarantee against their recurrence.

Haile Selassie to abdicate?

A cryptic statement made by M. Taezaz, the Abyssinian delegate to the Assembly, appears to suggest the impending abdication of the Emperor.

M. Taezaz, after referring to the impending renewal of Italian attack, said that in order to save lives and maintain the independent national home of his people, the Emperor, must now regard himself bound to consent to sacrifice his rights guaranteed by the Covenant.

Negus to recognise Italian Conquest ?

M. Taezaz's statement, which at first appeared to hint the impending abdication of the Emperor, is now interpreted in League quarters as meaning that the Negus will be willing to recognise the Italian conquest of parts of Abyssinia if in return his sovereignty over the remainder of the country is undisputed.

Third Accession Anniversary of King Ghazi.

The place which the popular young sovereign of Iraq, King Ghazi, occupies in the heart of his subjects was amply demonstrated on the occasion of the third anniversary of His Majesty's accession to the throne of Iraq. The King is very popular with all classes and communities of Iraqis and particularly with the army, for he himself is a good soldier.

The anniversary was celebrated in Baghdad, Basrah, Kerbella, Nejaf Ashraf and all other towns with greatest pomp and enthusiasm. Meetings, army parades, prayers and other social functions were held throughout the country. The houses were decorated with national colours and men, women and children thronged the streets in Id fashion.

A Royal "Manshoor"—Firman—was issued regarding promotions in the Royal Iraq Army and Air Force. King Edward sent a message of good-will from Malta. Congratulatory messages are also received from his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Iran. the President of France, Sultan Ibne Saud of Saudi Arabis, King Farooq of Egypt, Amir of Kuwait, President of Czechoslovakia and King of Yemen.

Abyssinians to remain in League Assembly

It is reliably learned that the Credentials Committee has decided that in the circumstances there can be no point in appealing to the Hague Court for a ruling regarding the validity of the Ethiopian credentials as it is learned that in any case the Ethiopians will continue to sit in the Assembly and the ruling will merely complicate the issue. Therefore, it is believed the Credentials Committee will simply recommend that the Ethiopian delegation continue to sit and enjoy the rights of membership.

The Assembly adopted the report of the Crdentials' Committee by 30 votes to four. Six countries abstained from voting. After this M. Politis presented the report to Mr. Taezaz, the Ethiopian delegate who accepted the recommendations with gratitude.

A dramatic note was struck when the Hungarian delegate questioned the rights of Abyssinia to credentials and the right of their delegate to attend the Assembly. Albania and Austria supported this view. M. Motta announced that Switzerland would abstain from voting as the question of the validity of the credentials of the Ethiopian delegation still existed and was grave in its political consequences. Britain and France and the Scandinavian countries, the members of the Little Entente, the Balkan Entente countries and the British Dominions voted "yes," while the "noes" included Hungary, Austria, Albania and Ecuador. The abstentions were Bulgaria, Chile, Siam, Switzerland, Portugal and Venezuela.

The decision of the Credentials Committee in recommending the Assembly to permit the Abyssinian delegation to sit in the Assembly applies only to the present session and in no way prejudices the future. The Committee decided against an appeal to the Hague Court on the ground that no decision could reach that Court before the Assembly rose.

League of Nations News

Lord Lugard, former Governor of Nigeria, who has been a member of the Mandates Commission for thirteen years, has recently notified the Secretary-General of the League that for reasons of health he was obliged to resign his membership on this Commission. Because of his wide experience in colonial and mandates questions, Lord Lugard enjoyed a wide influence, not only in the Commission, but also upon the public at large interested in these questions. It will be for the Council of the League of Nations to appoint his successor.

The Secretary-General of the League of Nations accepted, as from August 25th, the resignation of M. Marcel Rosenberg, Under-Secretary-General of the League. M. Rosenberg has been named by the Government of the U.S.S.R. as Ambassador to Madrid.

The President of the Peace Conference of Buenos Aires, M. Carlos Saavedra Lamas, notified the Secretary-General of the League that diplomatic relations between Bolivia and Paraguay had been resumed on August 25th and that any remaining questions in the Chaco dispute would now be settled by normal peaceful means.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions events and movements in India and outside.]

Improvement of Soil Fertility

Prof. N. R. Dhar, head of the Chemistry Department, University of Allahabad, and president of the National Academy of Sciences, is continuing vigorously his researches about the utility of molasses to improve soil fertility.

In his recent inaugural lecture of the series of popular lectures organized by the faculty of science, Dr. Dhar pointed out that the alkaline lands had been successfully reclaimed in different parts of the United Provinces and in Mysore by the application of molasses and good crops were growing in those reclaimed areas, where no vegetation ever grew.

Using one ton of molasses, the Mysore Government obtained 1200-1800 lbs. of rice grains per acre of alkali land where the crop failed previously, the normal production of rice in India being 1,250 lbs. of rice grains per acre. Applying five to ten tons of molases mixed with press-mud per acre of bad *usar* land, an excellent rice crop had been obtained in Soraon in the Allahabad district, and in Government farms at Unao, under the direction of Prof. Dhar.

Lucknow University Library

The Executive Council of the Lucknow University considered the reports of the Finance Committee and the Committee of Reference regarding the scheme for the new University Library building and resolved to sanction finally (*a*) the modified scheme of the new Library building for Rs. 2,38,451 and (*b*) the additional non-recurring grant for Rs. 45,000, in the current financial year in addition to the sum of Rs. 1,55,000 already earmarked for this purpose.

Co-operative Histories

The Cambridge University Press announces the Autumn publication of three new volumes of their large co-operative Histories: Volume XI of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, Volume VIII of the *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, and Volume IV of the *Cambridge History of India*. The new volume of the Ancient History describes the Roman Empire in the period from the accession of Vespasian to the death of Commodus, the civilization of the peoples of Northern Europe and of Dacia, and an account of the rise of Christianity and the organization of the early Church. A short conclusion sums up the tendencies of the age and provides the transition to the next and final volume. The New volume of the History of the British Empire deals with South Africa. The early history of the country and its contact with the Old World are first described, and then the history of the colonization up to and including the formation of the Union. Many South African scholars have contributed. The new volume of the History of India covers the history of the Mughal Empire from 1525-1757, and is illustrated by a series of ninety-six photographies showing the magnificent architectural achievements of the two centuries.

New German Art

The evangelical faith and certain artistic aims that might be said to be allied with it, have caused a community of workers to be formed in order to promote a sculpture, a literature and a music with a definite tendency. This co-operation in the sphere of ecclesiastical art is designed to enable the feelings of the present time to find expression. The second important task of this community is to contribute to the building-up of intellectual life, and to deal with those religious and humanitarian questions that are at present under discussion in Germany. Special attention is to be paid to the efforts of composers of church music..

In connection with the Olympiad, an interesting exhibition of modern evangelical-ecclesiastical art was opened in Berlin, and Bishop Heckel, of the Church Foreign Office of the German Evangelical Church, delivered the Introductory Address.

The exhibition shows how great an interest modern German artists are taking in this particular sphere. An information section endeavours to deal with all enquiries and questions.

Numerous photographs are displayed of church buildings, communion plate, mosaic and plastics are being shown. and one of the exhibits is an enormous etched glass picture. An interesting section is devoted to grave memorials of wood, and there are also numbers of exquisite laces, embroideries and ecclesiastical medals.

The Olympic Exhibition of Art

In exhibition hall 6 of the great Olympic Art competition in Berlin, the works of art of all participating nations were on view. The best productions in the Plastic Arts, Literature, and Music were brought together and in accordance with the Olympic ideal, authors and artists have entered the contest in a spirit of friendly rivalry. Professor Dr. Heinrich Tessenow was responsible for the entire architectural arrangements, and he displayed great skill in making the best use of the space at his disposal.

This art competition was not originally connected with the foundation of the modern Olympiad. The founder of the present Olympic Games was Baron Pierre ne Coubertin, and to him we owe the Renaissance of the antique sport ideal. He previously had the idea of introducing the softer accomplishment of singing as in accompaniment to the sterner " chariot-contests " of ancient times for, as stated in the preface to the catalogue of the Olympic Games, " the Olympiad is not supposed to be merely a series of championships in a couple of dozen kinds of sport, but an international festival which takes place every four years—a festival of youth." The time, however was not ripe for the realisation of this ambition, and it was at the commencement of 1906 that Coubertin decided to convene a meeting in Paris composed of leading figures in the plastic arts, literature, and sport. He was not successful, however, in arranging an art competition at the IVth Olympiad in the summer of 1908. This task was assumed by the organisers of the next Olympic Games held in Stockholm in 1912, when the first Olympic Art Contest was held. France, Italy, America, Switzerland and Germany all competed for the Olympic laurels. but the world-war caused an interruption in the arrangements, and the idea was not properly put into practice until 1920 when 8 nations and 112 works of art were represented at the Antwerp Olympiad.

The exhibition above-mentioned marked the commencement of the art competition at this year's Olympiad ; no less than 23 nations took part. France exhibited 60 pictures, 20 building-plans and 30 sculptures, whereas Sweden arranged for 20 pictures and 20 sculptures. Italy had the greatest number of exhibits. In addition to these masterpieces from all countries, which gave an incomparable idea of the entire productions of the present age in the domain of art, works of previous times were exhibited, representing the respective period, as for instance Dutch paintings of the 17th century. A cursory view of the exhibition conveyed the impression that a combination of sport and art offers enormous scope for creative genius and energy. Taken as a whole, the exhibition was a splendid illustration of the part played by the sporting idea in art to-day.

Academic Activities of the League

A new volume on National Public Works has just been published by the Transit Section of the League of Nations. This volume of 48 pages is a report of the experts who examined a large amount of documentary material collected during the enquiry into public works.

The volume contains the conclusions drawn from the examination of the material supplied by thirty-eight countries. In the preliminary statement, the following subjects are analysed for the countries in question: (1) Principal administrative methods followed or contemplated for the execution of the work, and any legal provisions relating to such work ; (2) principal methods employed for financing public works ; (3) an estimate, as far as is possible, of the allocation of expenditure on the execution of the public works, as between materials and equipment provided by national or foreign industry, on the one hand, and labour—that is to say, wages and miscellaneous social expenditure—on the other ; (4) Governments' opinions with regard to the effects obtained or expected from the execution of public works on the resumption of economic and industrial activities and on unemployment.

The *Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations for 1935-36*, which has just been published, gives a general view of the most important phenomena of a demographic, economic, financial and social character. The material contained in this volume relates in particular to the following matters: Territory and population ; Labour conditions (unemployment, employment, wages, hours of work) ; Production (agricultural products, dairy products, fisheries, minerals, metals, chemical products, electricity, etc.)—indices of world production of raw materials—indices of industrial production ; International trade and balance of payments ; Transport (merchant shipping, railways, air traffic) ; Public finance (budgets, public debts) ; Banks and currency questions (circulation, reserves of gold and foreign assets, exchange rates, discount rates, bank deposits, share prices, yield from bonds, issues of capital, etc.); Prices (wholesale and retail price indices, prices in gold francs).

Money and Banking in 1935-36

The Economic Intelligence Service of the League of Nations has recently published a new work in two volumes, entitled *Money and Banking, 1935-36*, which is a sequel to the publication of *Commercial Banks, 1927-34*, which appeared last year.

The first volume of the new publication is entitled *Monetary Review*, and the second volume *Commercial Banks.*

The *Monetary Review* gives a general conspectus of the monetary policy pursued in recent years by a certain number of countries, the economic reaction of monetary changes receiving special prominence. The factual data on which it is based—drawn largely from the various publications of the League of Nations on production, trade, balances of payments, prices, public finances and the world economic situation in general—are analysed in their relation to purely monetary changes ; and an attempt is made to explain the contrast between the position in certain countries, in which a marked business recovery has been apparent since 1935, and others in which the stagnation continues, in the light of the influence of monetary developments.

The countries under study in this connection have been classified in accordance with their monetary policy. One group consists of countries like the United Kingdom, in which expansion in the monetary sense has been mainly a consequence of banking policy. Sweden, the Union of South Africa, Australia and Canada belong to this group. A second group comprises Japan, Chile, the United States and Germany, in which the expansion has been mainly a result of the system of financing public expenditure. The gold-*bloc* countries (France, the Netherlands and Switzerland), in which the budgets have shown deficits while credit has not been expanded, form a third group. Finally, the experiments in Belgium and Czechoslovakia, in which devaluation has been put through under special conditions, are analysed and compared.

The *Monetary Review* contains a large number of readily intelligible graphs and short tables, in which (in conjunction with the text) abundant details will be found regarding the gold losses of the Banque de France and the French Treasury borrowings from the latter, the recent symptoms of stability of rates for money in the United Kingdom and other countries of the sterling group, the situation created by the enormous reserves held by the American commercial banks and the inflationist potentialities of the present position in the United States.

Commercial Banks gives an account of the banking situation in forty-eight different countries—*viz.*, all the European countries, the British Dominions, North America, a great part of South America, Egypt, the U.S.S.R. and a number of Asiatic countries. Each country is the subject of a special chapter, giving as up-to-date and complete a picture as possible of the banking situation. Prominence is given to the effects of recent monetary changes on the position of commercial banks, and to the various factors by which the banking position and the money market in the different countries have been governed.

Miscellany

AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL CONTROL IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

In 1935 certain stipulations of 1934 covering the Grain Monopoly were amended and supplemented says the *Annual Report of the National Bank of Czechoslovakia* (Prague, 1936), and to assure adequate prices of grains an adjustment of the areas devoted to the cultivation of wheat, rye, barley and oats was effected, by virtue of a Government decree in order that the level of grain prices fixed by the Grain Monopoly may, in the new crop year, not be at variance with the area sown to these grains. The ascertainment of the extent of areas sown to grain in certain agricultural enterprises in the crop year of 1935 formed the statistical basis for this. Furthermore, a Government decree was issued providing for a compulsory use of certain oil-bearing seeds in the production of artificial edible fats in 1935, the contribution allotted to flax and hemp growers was adjusted, and the production and sale of cheese in lump from the "bryndza" cheese were arranged ; production and marketing conditions in milling were likewise adjusted and the establishment of new mills was confined to special permits ; the establishment of new dairies in Prague was forbidden, and a lump-sum turnover tax prescribed for small farmers. The Land Office was dissolved on May 1, 1935 ; its sphere of activity was assigned to the Ministry of Agriculture.

With respect to industrial production, there was restricted, by Government decree, the extension of the number of sales shops (branch system) in certain lines where such extension might exert an unhealthy competitive pressure on other enterprises. For small producers of beer, who satisfied with certain conditions prescribed by a Government decree, the tax on beer was reduced. the Government thus aiding effectively in the problem of syndicalization of this branch of production. Tax reductions applicable to the repair of and improvements on houses tended to promote building operations in the second half of 1935. Further, the law covering motor vehicle transportation and taxation on such vehicles provided certain relief to automobile transportation, although no economically favourable results of this measure have been apparent..

In connection with assistance to production, mention should especially be made of the law governing economic espionage, which provides protection of trade secrets and contains regulations against trade espionage and carelessness in protecting trade secrets. A law prohibiting the granting of premiums in connection with the sale of commodities or the performance of duties was enacted with a view to preventing illegal competition which such premium-granting shops offered to reputable trade in general. By Governmental decree were further adjusted certain conditions of industrial and agricultural associations, co-operatives, agricultural and trade credit co-operatives, where the conditioned possibility of extending the operating activities of these groups to non-members as well is especially important..

Benoy Kumar Sarkar

ECONOMIC MOSCOW IN FIGURES

The area of the city of Moscow is 28,500 hectares (one hectare=2·5 acres), —slightly less than that of London.

The inhabitants of Moscow number 3,640,000 which is equal to a quarter million more than the entire population of Denmark.

Eight hundred thousand people arrive at and leave Moscow by rail, water and air daily.

There are two million workers and office employees in Moscow alone (800,000 of whom are women), —a number exceeding that of the population of Latvia.

The wages of the toilers of Moscow for one day are over half a million rubles.

More than four million rubles and a half are spent daily on new construction, expansion and capital repairs of dwellings.

The total extent of Moscow's streets is equal to 1,140 Kilometres (the distance between London and Vienna). One Km = $\frac{5}{8}$ mile.

Eight thousand stores in Moscow sell commodities to the value of 20 million rubles a day.

If we were to extend all the tracks of Moscow's trolley cars, they would stretch from Rome to Berlin.

Moscow's trolley cars carry about six million passengers daily, which is almost equal to the whole population of Portugal.

Every day trolley-buses cover a distance of 375,000 passenger-kilometers ; autobuses about 150,000 passenger-kilometres.

Two hundred thousand people travel by subway daily.

Eight thousand people travel on the Moscow River daily in river boats.

More than 2,000,000 Moscovites eat in 4,000 communal dining-rooms and restaurants daily.

More than half a million students study in 1,250 schools, courses and technical schools ; more than 60,000 people receive higher education in 65 universities and academies.

About 750,000 copies of various books are published daily in Moscow.

Hundreds of Moscow's libraries, circulating 40 million books, are at the service of the residents of the capital.

Six thousand people visit 70 museums of the city daily.

Moscovites receive 300,000 letters, 28,000 telegrams, 2,500 parcels a day and send to all parts of the country and abroad 350,000 letters, 25,000 telegrams and 12,000 parcels.

Moscow water-pipes, which are almost a thousand kilometres long (the distance from London to Marseilles), deliver 50 million buckets of water daily ; if this quantity of water would be poured into a lake having a depth of two metres, it would occupy an area of 0·3 square kilometres.

The network of the gas supply system in Moscow is about 500 kilometres long (the distance between Berlin and Warsaw). This quantity of gas can fill 12 dirigibles with a capacity of 18,000 cubic metres each.—*Sovietland* (Moscow, 1935, No. 6).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

A BRITISH ECONOMIST ON CAPITAL MOVEMENTS

Under conditions of free investment, capital flows to the point of maximum return, account being taken of variations of risk. This means that capital tends to flow from areas where it is relatively plentiful to areas where it is relatively scarce. Now in fact the different parts of the world are in very different stages of economic development. There is reason to suppose that, given peace, stable government and freedom of investment, for a very long time to come, capital would flow from those parts which are relatively rich to those parts which are relatively poor, to the enrichment of each. From the economic point of view, the world is still relatively undeveloped; and the prospects of increased wealth all round, which would follow better exploitation of its resources, are great.

But under economic nationalism, this processes of development must inevitably be considerably limited. This is not merely a matter of the immense obstacle to international investment which is offered by that form of economic nationalism which involves instability of exchanges; the effects of that are too well known to need further mention here. It is rather the effect of economic nationalism as regards long term investment. So long as the governments of areas where capital is relatively scarce are unwilling to see domestic resources controlled by foreign owners; so long as the authorities of the areas where capital is relatively plentiful impose hindrance on its movement elsewhere—and as economic nationalism grows this must come more and more to be the case—so long must this impoverishment of the world continue. There must be stagnation and ultra-cheap money in the capital exporting centres, financial stress and a chronic scarcity of capital in the centres which would have imported capital. Moreover—and this is a point which especially concerns Great Britain—the great export trades, which have been geared up, so to speak, to meet the demands created by the large export of capital, must remain permanently depressed. Not merely the business of acceptance and new issue, but the whole business of export suffers further from the stoppage of free capital movement.

It may be said that all this is hasty generalisation from the difficulties of the moment, and that "when things get better"—it is never stated quite how—even under the regime of separate national planning we shall see a revival of orderly international borrowing and lending.

It is to be feared that the wish is father to the thought. For the probabilities are all in the other direction. The existence of national control of the business of investment is likely to make the movement of capital not more, but very much less, considerable than would otherwise be the case. When one set of investors in one country lends to another set of borrowers elsewhere that is an affair of private business in which the intervention of governments is the exception rather than the rule. But when the investment board of one country lends to the investment board of another that is *ipso facto* a matter of high diplomacy involving political risks and considerations quite unconnected with the relative scarcity of capital in the countries concerned. It is really not to be expected that under such a regime the movement of capital would be on anything like the scale which might be expected in a regime of free private investment. The Russian credits are sometimes invoked as a demonstration that even under national socialism some borrowing takes place, but the example is surely very unconvincing. Who can doubt that if the revolution had taken a different form and there had been scope for free investment and private property in Russia the volume of foreign investment in those parts since the war would have been incomparably greater? A world of economic nationalism is going to be a world in which the undeveloped areas are much less rapidly developed and at much greater cost than would be the case in a world of international co-operation. And the centres which in the past have grown up to organise the business of international investment must be doomed either to decline or to a very radical transformation of their business.—L. Robbins (*Lloyds Bank Monthly*).

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR.

SHIP-BUILDING IN JAPAN

In addition to larger arms and munitions orders, the ship building boom in Japan is stimulated by such influences as continued execution of the "ship-quality improvement-measure," world-wide rivalry in construction, remodelling and overhauling of old ships, heavy orders from abroad for new ships, incresed building of tankers, activity in whaling and other marine industries, and general prosperity.

The "ship-quality improvement-measure" has had a large share in bringing about this shipping and ship-building revival. By that scheme the government subsidizes on a scrap and-build basis. Some 300,000 gross tons of modern type freighters have been built or are under construction, as follows:—200,000 tons in three and a half years from October, 1932; 50,000 tons in one year from April, 1935; and another 50,000 tons in one year from June, 1936. The first 200,000 ton scheme was completely finished by November, 1935 when 31 vessels aggregating 198,989 gross tons were added to Japan's fleet, while 94 old ships, totaling 399 240 tons, were scrapped. Subsidy on these operations is estimated at 10,700,000 yens, the 12 following firms being the beneficiaries: Nippon Yusen, Mitsui Bussan, Kokusai Kisen, Toyo Kisen, Osaka Shosen, Tokachiho Shosen, Azuma Kisen, Iino Trading, Shinko Kisen, Yamamoto Kisen, Shimatani Kisen, and Kinkai Yusen. Under the second and the third subsidy schemes 17 ships of 100,754 tons were built against an estimated bounty of 3,000,000 yens given to the 13 following firms: N.Y.K., Mitsui Bussan, O.S.K., Kita Nippon Kisen, Kokusai Kisen, Kuribayashi Shosen, Dairen Kisen, Sattsu Shosen, Naigai Kisen, Toyo Kisen, Takachiho Shosen, Azuma Kisen, and Sato Kisen.

Such an intensive building program has of course proved a boon to the ship-building industry as a whole. To cite the more important yards, the following six concerns have booked orders for 46 vessels approximating 284,533 tons: Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, Mitsui Bussan Uraga Dockyards, Kawasaki Ship-building, Harima Ship-building and Innoshima Ship-building.

These subsidy schemes have materially forwarded a world-wide competition in modern ship construction. Acceleration has also been provided by the prevailing fashion in super-tramps with liner specifications, thus introducing modern-style ships with large cargo space, but of high speed. The following table bears testimony to the way in which Japan's merchant fleet has improved in recent years, in sharp contrast with the pre-war period.

Registered Tonnage of Steamships.

(Japan proper.)

Net tonnage.	December, 1914, Number.	December, 1914, Tonnage. ('000)	December, 1935. Number.	December, 1935. Tonnage, ('000)
20—100	1,039	47	1,782	78
100—500	538	118	627	148
500—1,000	142	104	208	156
1,000—3,000	246	487	350	650
3,000—6,000	121	464	337	1,515
6,000—10,000	39	264	146	1,085
Over 10,000	5	94	19	231
Total	2,133	1,577	3,469	3,863

At the end of 1914 the mainstay of Japan's shipping was vessels of 1,000—3,000 tons or 3 000—6,000 tons. Towards the end of 1935 this was changed to 3,000—6,000 tons and 6,000—10,000 tons, there being a marked tendency towards increased launching above the 10,000 ton class. Another notable feature of ship-building in recent months is increased new tonnage in tankers and whalers.

According to the Communications Department. seven vessels, aggregating 3,170 tons were building at the end of March, 1936, on orders from Siam and the Soviet Union, while work on 13 other ships 4,530 tons is to be started soon. In view of amplified naval appropriations for improved equipment, orders from that direction are expected to speed up the activity further. – *Oriental Economist* (Tokyo).

Benoy Kumar Sarkar

STERILIZATION AND APPLIED EUGENICS

At the International Congress on Population held at Berlin in September, 1935 a paper on "Eugenical Sterilization in the U.S.A." was presented by Prof. H. H. Laughlin of the Eugenics Research Association, Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island. Sterilization was the subject also of papers by Ruedin (Munich), Gross (Berlin), Ruttke (Berlin), Koller (Bad Nauheim), Frets (Rotterdam). Dalsace (Paris) and Essen-Moeller of Lund (Sweden).

The papers can be seen in the Report published by the Congress under the title of *Bevoelkerungsfragen*, *i.e.*, Population Questions (Munich, 1936), edited by Harmsen and Lohse. In 1933 the German Government passed the Law for the Prevention of Hereditarily Diseased Progeny (*Gesetz zur Verhuetung erbkranken Nachwuchses*) which provided for the sterilization of the unfit. The purpose of this decree was to put an end to the unrestricted procreation of the unfit since scientific experience has shown that the descendents of such people will inherit their parents' weaknesses. Moreover such persons are very often of a criminal nature and likely to be a danger to the community at large. In order to protect against abuse and eliminate severity as far as possible, the illnesses which come within the category in question have been precisely defined and described. The chief illnesses entailing sterilization of the afflicted are insanity, hereditary deafness and blindness. Sterilization is the only effective means of preventing the perpetuation of such diseases. Sterilization makes it impossible for the operated to procreate, but it has no detrimental effects physically and must on no account be confused with castration. The Law was worked out in the closest detail from the very start, and care is taken in each individual case to avoid any severity.

The German law is however not the first in the field of applied eugenics. The question of preventing the unlimited multiplication of the physically unfit has been discussed at great length in many civilized countries for some years, and medical authorities have generally been in favour of putting a check to the birth of such persons. The first country to put this generally recognized necessity into practice is the Indiana State of the U.S.A. (1907). In Germany the aim of the law as set out in the preamble is that the birth of hereditarily unfit children is to be rendered impossible.

The German law caused a considerble sensation three years ago. The measures governing the application of the Sterilization Law have frequently been misinterpreted in India and abroad and often fiercely attacked in Germany and elsewhere. People are gradually getting convinced that this law can but be a benefit for coming generations. And those who criticised it from a humanitarian point of view are admitting that there is relatively greater cruelty in allowing children to be brought into this world as by birth doomed to suffer. The prevention of such sorrow and suffering is better than useless lamentation afterwards.

The German law has been finding increasing recognition. At the first Inter-American Conference for Mental Hygiene at Rio de Janeiro in 1935 it was unanimously agreed that sterilization of the unfit was an essential measure for the improvement of the hereditary stock of a race. In an article in connection with the Conference the Brazilian Professor Dr. Mauricio de Medeiros wrote as follows:—"The German Law is unique as far as technical precaution is concerned.......I must admit that the more I read of it and the more I learn of the results of its application and the methods employed, the greater enthusiasm I feel."

The principles underlying the German law have since been adopted in the legislation of several other countries. A draft law dealing with race hygiene has been drawn up in Poland very much on the same lines as the German law. Similar laws have also been passed in Denmark, Finland, Sweden and Norway. Of the 48 American States only 6 have not yet discussed the problem of sterilization (July 1935). Proposals have been put forward in England, Esthonia and Cuba, and in Hungary and Japan sterilization of the unfit has found many supporters, while it has recently been said in Canada that sterilization is the only solution to one of the most difficult problems of our time.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

The Battles of Guru Gobind Singh, by Sunder Singh, M.A.

This is a small monograph which had been submitted by the writer as a thesis in the examination for the M.A degree of the Punjab University. It is thus apparent that the book must not be judged by too exacting a standard and the author himself is modest enough to acknowledge that this is the work of a student and must therefore have many shortcomings. We are, however, glad to say that for a beginner he has done well. We note with pleasure that he realises the main difficulty of investigation in early Sikh history. The paucity of references in the contemporary Persian chronicles and the unsatisfactory character of the Sikh records themselves make the task of the historian an unenviable one. It has got to be frankly recognised that it is practically impossible to attain here that amount of precision and accuracy of detail as can reasonably be expected in several other branches of Indian history.

But even within the obvious limitations there is still room for much improvement and clarification and the present little book is an attempt of the kind. It is nothing more than a preliminary survey but it might have been made more useful if the author had strictly adhered to a clearer discrimination between the old and the later traditions. For instance, in his account of the battle of Bhangani he follows the later chronicles and makes the enmity of Raja Bhim Chand the primary cause of the conflict but he should not have ignored the fact that in the Guru's own account of the battle in the Bacitra Natak the name of Bhim Chand is not even mentioned. In fact it is obvious that his narrative of the earlier adventures of the Guru would certainly have been different if he had not mixed up the account of the Bacitra Natak with those of the later Sikh chronicles. Again, the author mentions Bhim Chand in connection with the battles of Anandpur but Bhim Chand had already abdicated in 1691. It does not seem necessary to adduce further examples and we would just point out to the author that the best way of treating the subject would be first to build a broad framework on the basis of the contemporary and the comparatively older records and only then to bring in the later traditions.

I. BANERJEE.

History of the Gurdwara Sahidganj Lahore, by Ganda Singh.

This book purports to give a historical account of the Gurdwara Sahidganj which came so much into prominence in recent times owing to the agitation of the Muslims to recover the site of an alleged mosque which the Sikhs demolished in July, 1935, and which, according to the Muslim view, ought not to have been regarded as a part of the said Gurdwara. The dispute is at least as old as 1850 when apparently 'encouraged by a change of the Government of the country' a Muhammadan named Nur Ahmad brought a suit in respect of the so-called Sahidganj mosque and the land attached thereto. In the fourth and fifth chapters of his book Mr. Ganda Singh gives a succinct account of the successive law suits which arose in conection with the Gurdwara and which definitely established the right of the Sikh incumbents of the shrine against all Muslim claimants. The author also gives a brief account of the proceedings before the Gurdwara Tribunal and the Punjab High Court which resulted in the rejection of the claims of the attached Anjuman-i-Islamia, as also of Harnam Singh and Hari Singh, the successors of the original mohant, who claimed the property to the shrine as their personal property and the final transference of the control of the Gurdwara to the local Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee. In the last chapter Mr. Ganda Singh traces the attempts of the Gurdwara Committee to improve the shrine, the demolition of the so-called mosque and the consequent Muslim agitation, bringing the matter to date.

Though all these are extremely interesting and give in a nutshell the later history of the matter, the really vital part of the present work is the first two chapters wherein the author discusses the origins of Sahidganj and the so-called mosque. In order to understand clearly the point at issue it is necessary to treat the matter in some detail. 'Sahidganj' literally means a 'heap or storehouse of martyrs' and later on the word 'came to be used for the memorials raised in memory of martyrs on the site of their martyrdom.' After the fall of Banda a dark period set in for the Sikhs and they were submitted to a systematic and deliberate persecution for about half a century. The Mughal Governors from the days of Abdus Samad Khan to those of Mir Mannu resorted, more or less, to a policy of indiscriminate massacre and many were the Sikhs that were brought in chains and executed in the public streets of Lahore. These include such notable figures as Bhai Mani Singh who was hacked to pieces joint by joint and Bhai Taru Singh whose scalp was scraped off. During the rule of Yahya Khan occurred the Pahla Ghalu-Ghara or the first holocaust when, after their defeat at the hands of Lakhpat Rai, a thousand Sikhs were brought in irons to Lahore and publicly beheaded without mercy. But this policy of indiscriminate slaughter appears to have reached its climax during the days of Mir Mannu, who, it is said, did not spare even women and children. Now, these executions generally took place in the Chowk of the Nakhas or the Horse Market, the present Landa Bazar in Lahore. This place, consecrated by the blood of thousands of martyrs, became sacred to the Sikhs and when the Bhangi Sardars captured Lahore, they occupied it together with a mosque-shaped building that stood over it, erected a few paces to the north a memorial in the form of a Gurdwara to Bhai Taru Singh and placed them in charge of a Sikh named Bhai Jagga Singh. This is the story of the origin and foundation of the Sahidganj Gurdwara.

But what about that mosque-shaped building that has been the source of so much trouble ? As regards its origin various theories have been advanced from time to time, but, as Mr. Ganda Singh says, during the recent demolition of the building a startling fact came to light which enables us to fix the time of its erection within very close limits. "The discovery of basketfuls of human bones and complete headless human skeletons from the foundations of the arches and walls of the so-called mosque goes a long way to disprove that it could have been built during the reigns of earlier Mughals.'' It must thus have been built after or at most during the period when the Sikhs were being indiscriminately slaughtered and the author, we think, rightly places its foundation near about the year 1750. It was apparently built for the use of the officials who supervised the executions and within its compound stood the under-ground dungeons into which were thrown Sikh women and children to be subjected to untold tortures. Though the shape of the building was like that of a mosque it had never been used as such and within a few years of its foundation it was converted into a *Dharamsala* by the Bhangi Sardars after their occupation of Lahore in 1764. Further, the author agrees that a mosque of the time of Dara Shikoh did stand in the Nakhas but he gives good reasons to show that this could not have been the building demolished by the Sikhs.

The present work is thus an extremely interesting and timely publication and none interested in the subject can afford to neglect it. The book however was evidently written in a hurry and there are a few inaccuracies here and there (*e.g.*, Panipat sealed the fate of the Marathas for some *thirty years to come*, p. 33; Mir Mannu lost his life in a skirmish with the Sikhs, p. 31), but these in no way affect the main thesis of the author.

I. BANERJEE.

Ourselves

[I. University to publish Bengali Books in Different Branches of Knowledge. —II. I. M. A. Entrance Examination and the C. U. T. C.—III. Training in Secretarial Work.—IV. Future Relation of University with Government.—V. Playground for the University —VI. Asutosh Museum of Indian Art.—VII. Dr. B. C. Law's Help to Pali Students.—VIII. Delegates of the University.—IX. New Rules for the Kamala Lectureship.—X. Biology in Bangabasi College.—XI. General Evangeline Booth.—XII. Mouat Medal.]

I. UNIVERSITY TO PUBLISH BENGALI BOOKS IN DIFFERENT BRANCHES OF KNOWLEDGE.

A momentous move was made by the Senate of this University at their meeting held on the 26th September last when they adopted the recommendation of the Syndicate that a series of books in Bengali be prepared and published dealing with different branches of knowledge. A sum of Rs. 6,000 has been sanctioned for the purpose for the present. A detailed scheme will shortly be prepared by the Syndicate and actual work will start in accordance therewith. The importance of the matter cannot be overestimated, and the move on the part of the University is fraught with immense possibilities for Bengali literature, as will be brought home to all by a perusal of a note from our Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, appended below :—

"I have been discussing for some time past with various persons in and outside the University the desirability of bringing out a series of books in Bengali dealing with different branches of knowledge. Each book will be of about 100 pages and the series will be primarily intended for the benefit of general readers and also students and will deal with the subject-matter in a simple and non-technical manner. There are many well-known publications of this type written in English. This undertaking on the part of the University will have the effect of enriching Bengali literature and also help in making useful knowledge and information available to a wide circle of readers who may not necessarily belong to the University. The policy which the University has steadily pursued for the last 30 years for the promotion of Bengali language and literature can never culminate in merely adopting Bengali as the medium of instruction and examination for the Matriculation Examination. Publication of text-books intended for the University Examinations cannot achieve the aim which the University has in view. The University has during the past years no doubt published a number of important books dealing with Bengali language and literature But the object of the new series will be, as indicated above, a different one. The work will have to be undertaken by well-selected scholars representing various branches of knowledge. Such a systematic publication will no doubt be a new venture, but I have not the least doubt that it will be a successful one and will be in the best interest of all concerned.

I have had talks with a number of possible writers and the response is most encouraging. If the scheme is taken in hand by the University, there will be no dearth of qualified men to come forward and undertake the work. I may just mention here that one of the first publications in the series will be written by Rabindranath Tagore, who has enthusiastically welcomed the idea and has promised his whole-hearted support.

Later on we may consider the question of bringing out a series of books, being works of translation into Bengali from well-known treatises in different branches of study."

* * *

II. I. M. A. ENTRANCE EXAMINATION AND THE C. U. T. C.

It is a matter of great satisfaction to find that our students are increasingly feeling the desirability of enlisting in the University Training Corps and that a great many of them have been thought physically fit to be admitted into the Corps. There are, however, certain difficulties with which, we are informed, the I. T. F. Headquarters are confronted. It has been complained that no information is received by the Headquarters regarding U. T. C. members who intend to study for the Entrance Examination for the Indian Military Academy until the actual application for report on the candidate is received from the Imperial Service Commission. The difficulties will, we hope, be avoided if, as has been suggested by Major Jackson in his letter to the President, C. U. T. C. Committee, the Headquarters be informed by Principals or Heads of institutions as to what members of their colleges have enrolled in the Corps with a view to study for the I. M. A. Entrance Examination for U. T. C. members, so that on receipt of this information special arrangements would be made for extra study if necessary and for their close observation while serving in the Corps. We hope that the college authorities would not let their cause go by default, specially when the Headquarters are always ready to help prospective I. M. A. candidates in every possible way.

Again, in connection with the regulation of school hours to allow members of U. T. C. units to attend Training Camps, the Report of the Interview and Record, I. M. A. Examination, March and April, 1936, comment on the number of candidates who had not served in the U. T. C. It has been pointed out that a certain number fail to join without any adequate excuse. Moreover, there was a general complaint, particularly amongst those taking science subjects, that the hours fixed for studies clashed with those fixed for parades, while a few explained their failure to join through being pressed to represent their colleges at some particular games they were good at, instead of joining the U. T. C. In order to meet the situation we consider it essential that the colleges should regulate the hours of work so that no boy, particularly those preparing for the I. M. A. Examination, is debarred from joining the U. T. C. It will be no small gain to the authorities concerned, and to this University in particular, if steps are taken for the removal of all obstacles which may prevent the attendance of candidates at parades, especially in view of the fact that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief considers it most important that the candidates for I. M. A. should be given every encouragement to join the U. T. C.

* * *

III. TRAINING IN SECRETARIAL WORK.

The subject of Training in secretarial work has of late engaged the attention of the Unemployment Committee, United Provinces, and they have made certain suggestions regarding the provisions, by Intermediate Colleges and Universities, of instruction in secretarial work and the institution of diplomas in that subject. There is, indeed, a great need for creating and developing some new professions so as to provide new careers for our young men and it is strongly felt that professions such as the one in contemplation should be created in every Province. We understand the Government of India and the local Governments have taken up the question in right earnest and the opinion of this University has been sought in the matter. We have reason to believe that this University will be prepared to provide for a Diploma or a Certificate Course in Secretarial Work and that actual training in the subject may be imparted in individual colleges affiliated for the purpose.

* * *

IV. FUTURE RELATION OF UNIVERSITY WITH GOVERNMENT.

The Government of Bengal have been in correspondence with this University on the very important subject of the future relation between them. With the inauguration of the Reforms, the University and necessarily legislation affecting the University will be out and out a Provincial concern. But the question becomes complex when one has to consider the position of Assam, which has its colleges affiliated to this University for want of a University of its own. This University has bestowed its serious thoughts on the questions and come to the conclusion that it should be treated as a Provincial subject and that with regard to future legislation affecting it, the Federal Legislature may be given the necessary jurisdiction if there are serious difficulties regarding the position of Assam.

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V. PLAY-GROUND FOR THE UNIVERSITY.

Those who are interested in sports and athletics will be glad to learn that this University has after a lengthy negotiation with Government, succeeded in obtaining plot No. 8 on the Calcutta Maidan as its play-ground, one essential condition being that the Indian Schools Sports Association (Bengal) should be permitted to use the ground for competitions by arrangements between them. The University was greatly handicapped for want of a suitable ground although its athletic activities have developed from year to year. The acquisition of the ground will, we hope, put an end to its difficulties.

* * *

VI. ASUTOSH MUSEUM OF INDIAN ART.

We are glad to announce that the Government of India have been pleased to accept the proposal of the Government of Bengal to include our Asutosh Museum of Indian Art in the list of institutions to which coins acquired under the Treasure Trove Act are distributed.

* * *

VII. DR. B. C. LAW'S HELP TO PALI STUDENTS.

Dr. Bimalachurn Law, M.A., B.L , PH.D., who has distinguished himself not only as a scholar but also as a patron of learning, has, we are glad to announce, made a free gift of five hundred copies of a text-book compiled by him for the benefit of B.A. Honours students in Pali. The book contains all the pieces prescribed by the University and many other additional pieces. The sale proceeds of this book, as Dr. Law has directed, may be utilised in any way the Vice-Chancellor thinks best for the benefit of the students of this University. The prohibitive price of Pali books and the general poverty of our students have for a quarter of a century been responsible for the paucity of students at the B.A. and the M.A. stage. The assistance rendered by Dr. Law to this University, which has already taken steps to obviate the difficulties of Pali students by the preparation of suitable texts for the Matriculation, I.A. and B.A. (Pass) course, will be acknowledged with gratitude not only by the future Honours students in that subject but also by every scholar who values the progress of Buddhistic studies in this University.

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VIII. DELEGATES OF THE UNIVERSITY.

The following gentlemen have been appointed to represent the University at the Conference and the Congress noted below :—

(1) Prof. Jitendraprasad Niyogi, M.A., PH.D.	Appointed a delegate to represent this University at the 20th Annual Conference of the Indian Economic Association to be held at Agra under the auspices of the Agra University at the end of December, 1936, under the presidentship of Dr. J. Matthari, D.SC., Director-General of Statistics and Commercial Intelligence.

(2) Prof. Krishnachandra Bhattacharyya, M.A., Rai Bahadur.	Appointed to represent this University at the Indian Philosophical Congress to be held at Delhi in the 3rd week of December, 1936, under the presidentship of Dr. Hiralal Haldar.

* * *

IX. New Rules for the Kamala Lectureship.

The rules for the Kamala Lectureship founded by late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in 1924 have been altered. The appointment to the Lectureship will be made in alternate years instead of in every year as at present.

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X. Biology in Bangabasi College.

The Bangabasi College, Calcutta, which is already affiliated in Biology to the I.Sc. standard, has been further affiliated in the same subject to the I.A. standard from the commencement of the session 1936-37.

* * *

XI. General Evangeline Booth.

We are informed that General Evangeline Booth, the International Leader of the Salvation Army, will visit India this year for the first time and that she will arrive in Calcutta on Sunday the 13th December, 1936. Of the two meetings which she will hold, the evening meeting will be in the Senate Hall in order that the public may have an opportunity of hearing her. The General, we may add, is a renowned speaker.

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XII. Mouat Medal.

We are glad to announce that a Mouat Medal has been awarded to Mr. Susobhan Datta, M.SC., on the research work done by him during the second year's term of his Premchand Roychand Studentship in Scientific subjects for the year 1933.

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

DECEMBER, 1936

NAGPUR UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION ADDRESS*

SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE, M.A., B.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.C.
Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University

YOUR EXCELLENCY, MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, FELLOW-GRADUATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

LET me in the first instance thank the authorities of your university for the honour they have done me in asking me to address this Convocation. To your university which has already established its reputation as a home of culture and progressive thought, I bring a message of good-will and co-operation from my *alma mater,* the oldest university in British India, whose jurisdiction once extended from one end of Hindusthan to the other.

In the past you had eminent men to address your Convocation. I cannot lay claim to any distinction which would be within a measurable distance from theirs. But I yield to none in my conviction that through education, rightly planned and generously fostered, lies the salvation of our country, and that today in India education offers a sphere of service and activity, limitless in scope, challenging the lifelong labours of men of all creeds and communities. Is it not true that generations of men in this ancient land have cheerfully sacrificed their wealth, their comfort and even their life for the sake of spreading knowledge and implanting in the human mind that insatiable quest for Truth which in every age and clime is the foundation for the attainment of Freedom ?

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* Delivered on 5th December, 1936.

In recent years university problems in India have received an almost super-abundant measure of attention from people belonging to diverse schools of thought, both progressive and reactionary ; and numerous and conflicting remedies have been proposed for our intellectual salvation. Though any suggestion for the curtailment of educational facilities must be resolutely opposed by the united voice of all lovers of Indian progress, we must not be slow to remedy the weak points in our system and, sinking all differences, readjust it to our changing needs and aspirations.

I believe opinion is unanimous today that the present system of university education in India requires thorough and immediate reorganisation. On the eve of reconstruction let us leave aside comparatively minor issues and ask ourselves the fundamental question, what should be the aims and ideals of university education in India ? Education is not static. Its course must change with the passage of time and with the altered conditions of the community it seeks to serve and elevate. It must always be closely related to the life of the people. Otherwise it becomes stagnant and soulless and instead of uplifting society tends to retard progress.

Generally speaking, the Indian university must regard itself as one of the living organs of national reconstruction. It must discover the best means of blending together both the spiritual and the material aspects of life. It must equip its alumni irrespective of caste, creed or sex, with individual fitness, not for its own sake, not merely for adorning varied occupations and professions, but in order to teach them how to merge their individuality in the common cause of advancing the progress and prosperity of their motherland and upholding the highest traditions of human civilisation. That constitutes the perennial ideal of a university, rooted in Indian soil and expresses one of the greatest needs of the hour.

While it will raise the average quality of its alumni and influence the steady march of progress and freedom, the university will not neglect the supreme task of giving protection and privileges to its brilliant teachers and advanced students, whose sole duty will be an unceasing search for truth and the pursuit of learning for its own sake. A university is not worth its name which does not provide for both teaching and research of the highest order in diverse branches of knowledge. India must produce her own band of discoverers and conquerors of new realms of thought who will help to raise the intellectual level of the country and call forth the spontaneous homage and respect of nations far and wide. There is indeed no limit to the scope of such investigations which must be conducted in an atmosphere of truth and freedom, unhampered by worries and anxieties. They must also be closely related to Indian conditions and constantly aim at their betterment.

Let us examine briefly how the universities may make their contributions towards national advancement. The preparation of the nation's youth for the diverse professions which commonly absorb their energy and intellect will continue. New vocations and avenues of useful and honourable employment which are but partially open to the Indian youth, such as the army and the navy, trade, commerce and industry, will receive adequate attention. Scientific and technical knowledge of various kinds and grades, will be generously imparted in full remembrance of their supreme value in the making of a new India, capable of standing on her own legs. An army of leaders and workers, not a band of narrow specialists, is to be created whose aim will be to foster India's economic and industrial development. It will be for them to devise ways and means for conserving and utilising the rich and inexhaustible raw materials in which this country abounds, not for individual profiteering but for the benefit of its toiling millions and for providing them with food, clothing and shelter, thus stabilising national efficiency and wealth and preventing their continued exploitation. Problems of health, sanitation, hygiene and diet will be investigated and the conditions for the alleviation of suffering and malnutrition carefully analysed. Agriculture must form a distinctive part of the work of the university and the possibility of increasing the productive power of land with the aid of science explored and explained.

Neither will cultural pursuits and the study and investigation of arts and letters be discontinued or discouraged. Philosophy, Literature, Archaeology and Architecture, Fine Arts including Music and Painting, the Indian Languages, classical and modern, History and Polity will be carefully nurtured and the correct interpretation of the manifestations of the genius of India in the realm of thought and culture will be faithfully and courageously given. These studies will not be a mere catalogue of past achievements. The modern Indian scholar must have the training and the vision to connect our ancient history and civilisation with our present needs and condition and to suggest rules of conduct and formulate an outlook on life which the Indian society of today can worthily accept. Economics and Banking, particularly the position of this country in relation to foreign trade and competition, and the conditions of a prosperous and an economically free India, must be investigated. Politics and Constitutional law and theory must be critically examined, specially the fundamental aspects of the government and constitutions of countries which are attempting to rehabilitate themselves on the ruins of their former existence. Education and Psychology will form the subjects of active investigation. A department of Educational Research will devote itself to the study of local problems as also of great experiments, made in countries far and near, particularly in Russia and Japan. Important languages of the East and the West will be studied and the achievements of other civilised nations brought home to our rising generations. Indeed, while the Indian University will maintain the great characteristics of India's past culture and civilisation, omitting all that is pernicious and anti-progressive, it must not summarily reject what the West may give us. If Western ideas can be assimilated into our system without detriment to its national character, we shall welcome them. If such acceptance denationalises us, we shall reject them without hesitation.

A great problem which Indian education must face sooner or later relates to the place which should be given to religious education. Religion has played a dual role in the evolution of mankind. While it has done enormous good to humanity and has introduced order and solidarity in critical periods of man's history, it has at times been utilised as a convenient excuse for senseless oppression of mankind. Indian education was deliberately made secular according to a policy of religious neutrality pursued by a foreign government which could hardly have acted otherwise. This has had in some respects devastating effects on the Indian mind.

One feels doubtful however of the practicability of including religious education as a subject for study in our schools and colleges, open to youths belonging to various religious faiths. The danger lies in the fact that this instruction is likely to be imparted by men who will lay greater emphasis on the practices of religion than on its principles and thereby sow the seeds of exclusiveness and fanaticism, ruinous for the growth of Indian nationhood. Religion must therefore be left mainly to home influence the standard of which must be appreciably raised. But I would at the same time earnestly urge a regular and well-balanced study of the great truths and the beauties underlying the different religious faiths, presented in a manner which will not seek to proclaim the superiority of one to the other, nor emphasise minute differences among one another. The text which will require most careful preparation, will record the ultimate triumph of truth and righteousness, lay stress on the essential unity of all religions and aim at the foundation of a common sympathy, a just and equitable understanding and a sense of universal brotherhood.

A vast field of service that is open to the Indian university relates to the enrichment of our national languages. We must make them the vehicle of our instruction and through them spread knowledge far and wide in diverse branches and in forms both scholarly and popular. Another paramount need is the supply of thousands of university-trained youths, inspired by the best that a university can give, for directing the work and activities of elementary schools in India. There have no doubt been illuminating instances of scholarship, of high artistic attainments, of intellectual achievements in the spheres of letters, science and administration. But who will deny that all this has been limited to a very small circle beyond which there is a state ranging from twilight to total darkness ? Who will deny that much yet remains to be done to dispel the clouds of ignorance, fear and superstition, that cover the Indian horizon today ? That more than 90 per cent. of the Indian population should continue to be illiterate even after 175 years of British rule in this country is an intolerable situation which calls for immediate action. A new race of university-trained youth must go forth and, fired with a spirit of zeal and sacrifice, undertake the duty of directing the affairs of schools, throbbing with life and energy, to be opened at every village from one corner of the country to the other. The school will be the centre from which will radiate the joy and glory of knowledge, applied to the needs and conditions of every grade of society, not treated as separate units but as living parts of one organic whole—

knowledge that will liberate the latent abilities of the children of India and enable them to know themselves and the heritage that is theirs. It is thus that the university will carry its banner of progress and liberty into the very heart of India, will cease to be characterised as the producer of small groups of men, ease-loving and self-centered, and will awaken a spirit of sympathy and support, nation-wide in extent, in furtherance of the noble mission it will have made its own.

Our object is to give to the Indian youth an education which will be a true preparation for life and this cannot be achieved by fostering intellectual activities alone. We have to raise the physical standard and efficiency of the rising generation and must aim at creating a sound mind in a sound body. Physical education must be made compulsory in schools and colleges. For this purpose there must be an abundant provision of playing fields and gymnasia ; there must be a regular supply of skilled teachers who will instruct our youths in daily habits of physical welfare and will consider individual needs and capacities ; there must be an organised system of free health-examination and a net-work of after-care centres. Closely connected with physical instruction is the supreme question of supply of cheap but nourishing diet without which physical culture is meaningless if not harmful.

Addressing the university of the province that claims Dr. Moonje as its own, need I emphasise that military training also should be made compulsory in our colleges ? Its object will not be to proclaim the doctrine of Might is Right but to instil into the minds of our students a sense of discipline, alertness and organisation so essential for building up a character. It will also serve to show that, given adequate scope, Indian youths may worthily form the foundation of a national force, capable of defending our hearth and home ; this will deepen a sense of self-respect and self-confidence in the minds of our people and remove an unjust stigma on our capacity and character.

I have been hiterto speaking of some of the major activities which should form part of the programme of every Indian university. We must not overlook however the need of altering the methods of imparting instruction and knowledge. We must re-establish that close and intimate relationship between the teacher and the student which was one of the features of ancient Indian education. The system of mass lecturing and formal communication of information which is not often properly assimilated, must obviously be modified, giving place to a more intensive system of tutorial and seminar work which will stimulate the growth of right and independent thinking. For this purpose, we must be enabled to employ a much larger staff than at present and to pay our teachers adequately. Nothing is more important to the success of an educational scheme than the selection of the right type of teachers, men of character and learning, who will regard their task as a sacred mission—men who will inspire the respect and affection of their students and will act as their guides, philosophers and friends.

A thorough revision of the system of examination is also urgently called for. The predominance of examinations in university education in India has seriously affected the march of progress. Whether in schools or colleges or in the universities, the goal ordinarily in view before one and all is success at the examinations. This aspect of educational organisation is not peculiar to India and has recently been receiving considerable attention in other countries. We have to explore the conditions under which we can dispense with the rigours of the examination system and secure a more satisfactory recognition of the work done during a student's career in educational institutions.

We must also provide for a more intimate relationship between student and student and for this purpose generously equip our universities and colleges with halls, unions and common-rooms. This contact, this free and frank exchange of ideas and ideals, will help to lay the foundation of true and lasting comradeship ; this will build up character, knock down angularities, create wider interests and enable the youths to know themselves truly and well. A mere pursuit of knowledge in the lecture-room, the library or the laboratory cannot make a man worthy of his life's mission.

I have today spoken of some of the fundamental problems of educational reconstruction which will take years of ceaseless, determined and patient toil to solve. Before I conclude I must however enumerate the primary conditions which require to be fulfilled in an adequate and satisfactory measure before any scheme of reorganisation, truly national in character, can be undertaken with success. First and foremost, a system of education, consistent with the genius of the people of India and suited to modern life and conditions, cannot be fully achieved unless and until India enjoys a political status which will give her the liberty to decide for herself what constitute her national needs and how best they can be satisfied. Call it dominion status, responsible self-government or *swaraj*—I am not concerned with the nomenclature ; I am concerned with the supreme fact that the constitution must give us real and not shadowy rights and powers and enable India to be the mistress of her own destiny. Secondly, there must be less of degrading poverty and less of disease and pestilence, now nation-wide in extent, which are sapping our vitality and energy and shutting out the inrush of joy, light and beauty into this land of proud and ancient civilization. Thirdly, the State must spend far more adequately and generously on education, in all its grades, than what it has done in the past. All schemes for reconstruction will remain unrealised until this paramount condition is whole-heartedly fulfilled. Fourthly, there must be an elaborate system of elementary and secondary education which will form an enduring foundation on which the great structure of university education will be built, shining like a crown of purposeful achievement drawing inspiration and strength from the abundance of materials which the lower stages will bring to its doors. Fifthly, education at every stage should be as cheap as possible while its quality will be maintained at a high level. Even in a rich country like Great Britain more than 40 per cent. of University students receive concessions and aid, the total value of which is about Rs. 17,800,000, excluding the contributions of private trusts and corporations. In Russia education is free in the lower stages and 80 per cent. of her university students are not required to pay anything. Sixthly, while expressing our deepest gratitude to our past benefactors, let us emphasise that the universities must inspire private benefactions on a much wider scale than they have hitherto done. In every country we witness to-day a conflict between class and class. We witness the unjust and inequitable distribution of wealth and the existence, side by side, of proud riches and abject poverty. But this disparity is nowhere more staggering than in this unfortunate land of ours. If our wealthy men who have amassed fortunes, whether through personal efforts or through the accident of birth or otherwise, make up their minds to allot a portion of what they possess for the uplift of their brethren, for the wide diffusion of knowledge and culture, for the alleviation of suffering, they will be uprooting feelings of hostility and antagonism and will inspire the affection and confidence of the masses whose prosperity and improvement they will thus have helped to stabilise. Seventhly, there must be a close and honourable connection between education and trade, industry and commerce, so that men trained in different branches of practical skill and knowledge will have a natural scope for their talents. Mere technical education, divorced from such association, can never solve the problem of unemployment. Lastly, the universities must be given the amplest freedom to work out their salvation. We must free education from the under-currents of political and communal strife. Let each university have a constitution judiciously planned on academic considerations and truly representative in character. Let the men chosen for their administration be of the right type inspired solely by the idea of training youths who will be an asset to the cause of Indian progress.

Fellow-graduates, let me make it clear that while I am anxious that the university-trained youth should be saturated with the highest ideals of Indian life and culture and imbibe the best elements of western science and knowledge, I do not want him to grow up as an aggressive nationalist utterly forgetful of his ultimate loyalty to the spirit of humanity at large. Neither do I minimise the value of his attachment to his community and province. Let us however constantly bear in mind that the introduction of communal and sectarian factors in the field of Indian politics is sharply dividing her peoples into warring sections, each distrustful of the other. For the sake of our very existence let us not forget the supreme need of discovering a proper synthesis between apparently conflicting interests.

To you who are about to enter the arena of life, I plead with all earnestness that whatever spheres you may work in, let your banner be a symbol not only of knowledge and enlightenment, of liberty and balanced judgment, of clean thoughts and actions, but also of unity and service. Let us remember at every step that we who call ourselves educated, exist not primarily for our own rake but for adding our individual contributions, however humble to the advancement of national prosperity. Let us learn to identify ourselves whole-heartedly with the cause of the suffering millions of our countrymen. Let no fear come to us because we have been born in an age not of peace and comfort but of restlessness and adversity. Fortified by a supreme belief that the cause of Indian progress and freedom is just and legitimate and that India has an ennobling message to give to the rest of humanity, let us equip ourselves truly and well and march collectively and courageously towards our cherished goal. Let us all solemnly and humbly pay our tribute of homage to the eternal spirit of our motherland and pledge ourselves to her service in the words of the warrior poet, words which were uttered in his last Convocation address by my revered father fourteen years ago and which are still ringing in my ears :

" স্বদেশ আমার ! তোমার সেবায় এ ব্রত লইনু আজি—
পূজিতে তোমারে আনিব খুঁজিয়া ধরণীর ধনরাজি ।
তুমি যদি চাও প্রাণপ্রিয়ধন—দ্বিধা না জাগিবে মনে
সুধাব না কথা, প্রফুল্লবদনে এনে দেব ও-চরণে ।
আমার প্রাণের প্রীতি হবে দেবী ! তব পূজা-উপচার
অবাধে সকলি সঁপিয়া তোমায়, লইব সেবার ভার ।"

" I vow to thee, my country—
all earthly things above—
Entire and whole and perfect,
the service of my love—
The love that asks no question ;
the love that stands the test,
That lays upon the altar
the dearest and the best ;
The love that never falters,
the love that pays the price,
The love that makes undaunted
the final sacrifice."

THE DRAMA OF SILENCE

JNANENDRANATH CHAUDHURI, M.A.
Dacca University.

ALL that distinguishes the life of the civilised man from that of the barbarian may in the long run be traced to love of silence. Silence constitutes the most congenial atmosphere for the spirit to work and grow in. If the progress of civilisation has been marked by an ever-increasing supremacy of the spirit over the body, that increase is the result of silence entering more and still more into the life of man. When the primitive man blew his horn and plied his bow in the forest, the noise he made over that search for food and over the eating thereof in his cave practically made up life for him. Absence of noise meant with him suspension of life. As the mediaeval knight-errant rode in search of adventure with the clangour of his armour and sword, the monk in his cell sat absorbed in contemplation of God and the hereafter and the spirit of man marched forward. In modern times it is not the booming of guns or the whir of aeroplanes that measures the real progress of the human soul ; it is the thought of the men of silence whom perhaps their own countrymen deny. What Wordsworth said of his generation, "The World is too much with us; late and soon, Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers" may seem true of our own generation also ; but the essential point is that it is not these men who lay waste their powers in merely getting and spending that determine the character and course of an age. Every age that claims to be civilised must have its dreamers of dreams and seers of visions, its men of silence who are the salt of the earth. The glory of our times is that the men of silence are now regarded not as cranks or aberrations but as the determining forces of human society, so that though guns and aeroplanes are increasing in many parts of the earth, even while they increase the number of these noisy instruments of warfare, they have to recognise that war is wrong. Willingly or unwillingly, the fighter has to accept the spiritual principle of the philosopher. This means a new standard and a new conception of life. The ideal, or we may even say, the normal life of the modern man is a life of calm.

As in life, so in literature, the evolution and establishment of calm as a distinctive feature has been a very slow process continuing through the centuries and attaining a maximum strength in our own times. From the point of view of this evolutionary process we may broadly distinguish three periods in the history of European literature: the period of physical action and observation, the period of reason and loquacity and the period of introspection and silence, respectively corresponding, in a very general way, to the period from the earliest times to the flowering of the Renaissance, the period from after the Renaissance to the end of the 19th century, and the period from the beginning of the 20th century down to the present, specially that part of it following the War. It is not to be thought for a moment that any period of literary activity may be purely a period of introspection or of observation or loquacity: what is meant is that action and observation, reasoning and loquacity, and introspection and silence are the dominant features of the respective periods, but the dominant features of a particular period are more or less mixed up with the features of the other periods. From the epics of Homer and Virgil and epic pieces like *Beowulf*, through the mediaeval *chansons de geste* and romances of chivalry, to the dramas of Shakspere, we find a surfeit of physical action and realistic detail based on observation; but, even outside Shakspere, there is in this period an abundant wealth of reason in Dante's poetry and profound introspection in some of the dramas of Aeschylus and Sophocles. During the period of about two hundred and fifty years from the middle of the 17th century to the end of the 19th, with an interruption of about three decades towards the beginning of the 19th century, poetry and drama became intellectualised, while the most important literary product of the times, the novel, is characterised by loquacity springing as much from reason as from sentiment. The three decades of interruption referred to marked a reaction against reason in favour of emotional introspection, but the rest of the century was a time of scientific and industrial progress which loaded the poetry of Tennyson and Browning and Verhaeren with philosophic thought; while the dramas of Ibsen, Tolstoy, Shaw, Brieux, and Hauptmann set the whole world thinking by their merciless analysis of the problems of social life. The period of the epics, the *chansons*, the romances of chivalry and the Elizabethan drama reflects the vivacity and bustle of life. Compared with this, the post-Renaissance period of the novel and the intellectualised drama and poetry is a period of calm ; but it is the calm that follows on the absence of mere physical action. It is only our own times that have seen the birth of that deeper calm and silence which follow when not only physical action has stopped but reason and logic also have been hushed before the mysteries of life. In this phase of the evolution of calm and silence in creative literature the first name of commanding importance is that of Maurice Maeterlinck. Carlyle before him had sung the glory of silence and secrecy, but, as a philosopher, he had satisfied himself with theorising. Maeterlinck regards silence as an integral part of life, and the most valuable part of life, not in theory only, but makes use of it both for the matter and for the method of his dramatic creation. Life, he holds, no longer reveals its truth and mission on the battle-field, in bloodshed, strangling, poisoning, and revenge. He refuses to believe that the soul flowers only on nights of storm, that we must roar like the Atrides before the Eternal God will reveal Himself in our life, that He is never by our side at times when the air is calm, and the lamp burns on, unflickering. Life now runs a much smoother course than in the days of Greek antiquity or the Renaissance. Its gravest crises are faced in silence in a corner of one's room. "It is seldom that cries are heard now ; bloodshed is rare, and tears not often seen. It is in a small room, round a table, close to the fire, that the joys and sorrows of mankind are decided. We suffer, or make others suffer, we love, we die, there in our corner ; and it were the strangest chance should a door or a window suddenly, for an instant, fly open, beneath the pressure of extraordinary despair or rejoicing."[2] It is true that our joys and sorrows may occasionally receive a shock from outside, as they received during the Great War ; but still a life of calm is the modern reality that the modern drama must interpret. That physical action constitutes an element of secondary importance only in modern life is clear from the naturalistic dramas of the last quarter of the 19th century as well as from the dramas of Maeterlinck ; but the dramatists of the naturalistic school like Ibsen, Shaw, and Hauptmann aim more at a reasoned and logical presentation of the problems they tackle than at a search into the deeper consciousness of man which is Maeterlinck's peculiar task as a dramatic artist. His idea is that, deprived of the ancient and mediaeval glamour of

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[1] *The Treasure of the Humble*, pp. 99,101.
[2] *The Double Garden*, p. 99,

picturesque surroundings and of the solemn, tragic background created by an unquestioning faith in a God and the fates, the modern dramatist has to seek for the mystery, the appealing power, of life in its consciousness. He will have to probe deeper and deeper into its depths. Accordingly, in the typical Maeterlinckian plays, where the action is more spiritual than physical, we are shown things which had rather been felt than seen. And as physical action is thus virtually banished or reduced to a position of only minor importance in his plays, his characters not infrequently express themselves through silence. Silence as a dramatic device is used in the majority of his plays, though with less frequency in the later than in the earlier ones. It is not possible to define exactly the significance of silence in a particular situation that is psychologically important ; but it may be generally stated that Maeterlinck has used it to suggest sullen reproof, gloomy discontent, languor, helpless resignation to fate, the coming on of an unknown calamity, anxious waiting, an inexplicable uneasiness of heart, the presence of a mystery, and terror, the birth of jealousy and hatred and love.

Maeterlinck preached and practised the theory of silence as early as the last decade of the 19th century. Distrust of the spoken word as a means of revelation of inner life gained some ground in the beginning of the present century ; but the work that Maeterlinck began was mainly continued and his theory pushed to the extreme in France after the War by a number of dramatists who have been styled the School of Silence. The most important among them are Denys Amiel and Jean-Jacques Bernard and, we may say, H. R. Lenormand. It is not out of a mere passion for novelty that these writers undertook the cultivation of a species of drama which has been looked upon in some quarters as a kind of heresy. An innate mystic temperament was responsible for Maeterlinck's belief in the supremacy of silence in life and art. The writers of the Silence School of Drama seem to have been largely influenced by the increasing emphasis that modern psychology lays on the value of the unexpressed in life. The reaction that the Great War must have brought about in many against the popular view of life as a noisy affair may also have played some part in shaping their literary creed. Denys Amiel almost echoed Maeterlinck when he made one of his characters say, " Ah the admirable and poignant thing, life ! ......The most insignificant moments are perhaps big with internal drama......We see people peacefully seated and calmly chatting, their movements the same as those of all other polished and sociable men ; and yet in their hearts perhaps are eddying covetousness, and hatred, and the passion of the ancestral beast..." [1] Jean-Jacques Bernard, taking unavowed or unconscious passions as his province, defined the theatre as before all the art of the unexpressed and declared literature to be its worst enemy, as expressing and diluting what the theatre should only suggest.[2] The view here enunciated would seem to be an admixture of truth and nonsense. Everyone acknowledges that there are thoughts and feelings that are too deep for words. Everyone also acknowledges that the secret of art lies in suggesting more than one says. " The personages of the classic theatre cannot always think directly any more than the personages of the school of silence can think indirectly." [3] But how can the theatre, the only instruments of which have always been action and dialogue, deal with the ' unexpressed,' with thoughts and feelings that never become dynamic enough to lead a man to action or even to emerge into the light of linguistic expression ? These necessarily lie outside its scope. To call the theatre an art of the unexpressed is really to use a contradiction in terms. To say that anything should remain unexpressed despite all the endeavours of the dramatist to express it is a confession of failure on his part, his business being to find expression for what the common man cannot express. The truth about the theory of silence is that if it is agreed that silence is an integral part of life, the theatre, which aims at a complete and direct presentation of life, cannot ignore that part just as it cannot ignore the part that is manifest in and through action and language. Modern psychology emphasises the importance of the unconscious or the subconscious in life. The course of life, it says, is more frequently determined by upheavals from below the threshold of consciousness than by what we think and feel in conscious life. Maeterlinck has compared our intellect to merely a kind of phosphorescence playing on the inner sea of the unconscious. He has traced fate at least in part to this dark abyss of the unconscious and would take the Eumenides of Aeschylus and the witches of Shakspere to be no more than symbols of forces emanating from within man's own self. H. R. Lenormand, likewise, assigns the power of fate to long-forgotten incidents or never-perceived tendencies which lie buried in unconsciousness or subconsciousness but still influence and at least partially determine the course of conscious life. The region of the unconscious is a region of silence. Unlike the world of passion presented in the Elizabethan drama or in the drama of Greek antiquity, and unlike the world of reason presented in the naturalistic drama of the 19th century, this region requires for its presentation little or no violent physical action or inflated intellectualism. It is not, however, the currents of unconscious life alone that flow in silence. In conscious life also there are, even in the life of the ordinary man, hopes and apprehensions and disappointments and illusions which move him deeply but fall short of expression in action or language. While Lenormand occupies himself with the unconscious, Amiel and Bernard mainly, deal with these unexpressed hopes and disappointments, though the latter has, in *The Unquiet Spirit* (*L'Ame en Peine*) extended his scope to the confines of the unconscious. We shall first illustrate Bernard's case by an examination of his masterpiece *Martine*.

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[1] *Le Voyageur*, Scène VI, " Ah ! l'admirable et la poignante chose que la vie !...Les minutes les plus insignifiantes sont peut-être grosses de drame intérieur...On voit des gens paisiblement assis qui causent avec calme, leurs gestes sont ceux de tous les autres gens polis et sociables et peut-etre que dans leurs coeurs s'agitent en remous la convoitise...la haine...la passion de la bête ancestrale..."

[2] " Je pense qu'un théâtre sobre et depouille pourra faire une place de plus en plue grande aux passions inavoueés ou inconsciente." J. -J. Bernard quoted by John Palmer in *Studies in the Contemporary Theatre* (1927), p. 99.

"Le théâtre est avant tout l'art de l'inexprimé. C'est moins par les répliques mêmes que par le choc des répliques que doivent se révéler les sentiments les plus profonds. Il y a sous le dialogue entendue comme un dialogue sous-jacent qu'il s'agit de rendre sensible. Aussi le théâtre n'a pas de pire ennemi que la littérature. Elle exprime et dilue ce qu'il ne devrait que suggérer..." J. -J. Bernard quoted in D. Knowles's *La Réaction Idéaliste au Théâtre depuis 1890*, p. 495.

[3] ' Les personnages du théâtre classique ne peuvent pas plus penser toujours directement que les personnages de l'école du silence ne peuvent penser indirectement." L. Dubech's *La Crise du Théâtre* (1928), p. 74.

Martine, a simple peasant girl of village Grandchin, is on her way home after marketing at the nearest town Bateux which is also a railway station, an hour's run from Paris. It is a hot midday of July. Extremely tired, the girl sits under an apple-tree by the way-side, placing her two baskets on the ground. Presently a young man, Julien, comes from the same direction and, with her permission, sits near her. Julien is captivated by her beauty and Martine loves him at first sight. An idyllic love-scene takes place between them in no time. Martine makes a complete self-surrender to the ardour of the young lover. At this time another young man, Alfred, a neighbour and admirer of Martine at Grandchin, happens to come to the spot. In course of his conversation with Julien it transpires that Julien is the grandson of Madame Marvan, Martine's next-door neighbour. Martine receives her first shock at this revelation, because she knows that Julien is affianced to Jeanne who, as Madame Mervan has arranged, is coming down in August to meet Julien. Martine and Julien reach Grandchin together, Julien in a perfectly happy mood. Jeanne arrives in a fortnight. She is perhaps a cultured girl; at any rate she is very intelligent and has a great aptitude for analysis of feelings. She completes for Julien a quotation from a well-known poet which Martine fails even to understand. Jeanne and Julien are married before long and in October, only about three months from her rapturous first meeting with Julien, we find Martine sitting a still and oppressed figure under the same apple-tree, which is almost leafless in autumn, an apt symbol of her desolate, forlorn condition. Alfred comes again and pleads for her hand with the importunity of an unfeeling, matter-of-fact man who values his wife only as an agent for getting him children and preparing his meals and looking after his poultry. He is repulsed, but remains obdurate.

Jeanne and Julien think of leaving their grandmother's home and putting up independently in Paris where Julien works as a journalist. Madame Mervan expected as much but still, at the prospect of separation from them, clings to Martine whom she tries hard to get married to Alfred. Martine neither agrees nor disagrees and gives no reply. We are not shown the marriage (as we were not shown that of Jeanne and Julien), but at the end of the play we find Martine Alfred's housewife, looking after his poultry. Madame Mervan is dead. Jeanne and Julien come down from Paris to dispose of her things and perhaps permanently cut off all connexion with Grandchin. Jeanne is already a mother. Martine also is going to be one. Julien comes to Alfred's place before departure and is left alone with Martine. He is now overpowered with emotions as he looks back over the period, about a year and a half, since he first met Martine under the apple-tree. Martine, however, has the calmness of perfect self-possession disturbed only at the end by a tremor and a wildness in her eyes. They are separated by Jeanne's arrival and Alfred's. Jeanne and Julien go away, the sound of the horse's bells fades away in the distance and Alfred and Martine sit face to face round the table as the lamp is lighted above it. They sit on in perfect silence as the clock ticks away heavily in the corner.

The character of Martine, who has been described as one of the most attractive and poignant figures in modern drama,[1] moves us indeed with a poignancy of feelings hardly to be surpassed, and yet the character is almost throughout the play wrapped in silence. It is to be clearly understood at the outset that Martine is not an abnormal character. She is not one of those persons who unaccountably suffer from melancholia, nor does she lack the power to express herself. She is, by nature, of a very quiet disposition, but she can quickly respond to love and admiration and express her feelings with a spontaneous ardour. We have only to refer to the opening scene under the apple-tree where she met Julien for the first time. When Julien asks her for a little space by her side and begins his conversation, she talks with a vivacity and a note of familiarity which would have seemed rather unnatural but for the fact that she is a peasant-girl. She allows Julien to play with her ringlets and to deck her with the flowers she is carrying. It is only when Julien drifts away towards Jeanne that Martine's little heart is filled with an ever-growing uneasiness which envelops her more and more in silence. But though she herself remains in silence, rarely uttering any words that give direct expression to her feelings, we are left in no doubt as to the emotional reaction produced in her by what others do and say. In Scene II, at the time of Jeanne's arrival, Martine is present at Madame Mervan's house. Jeanne and Julien clasp each other's hands and exchange looks. Madame Mervan whispers to Martine to leave them, but Martine seems unable to move. Madame Mervan goes out. Jeanne and Julien accost each other. The old lady enters again with the words, "Well, Martine ?..." Martine stands motionless and speechless. Jeanne requests Madame Mervan to stay ; Julien takes no notice of Martine. Madame Mervan again goes out, significantly saying, "Martine ?" Only at this stage Martine awakes to her position and follows the old lady, with a drooping head and uttering only the two words, "Yes, madam..." In Scene III, one evening during Julien's temporary absence from Grandchin, Jeanne unbosoms herself to Martine. It is that sad autumn evening when Martine sat under the leafless apple-tree, an oppressed, forlorn figure. Darkness gradually covers the face of the earth. Martine's heart is full. Jeanne looks forward to her marriage with Julien and even beyond, to the bliss of married life when the father, the mother, and the children will sit in a happy home, round their own table. Jeanne says to Martine: "It'd be better if we went to live in Paris, I know...But there's Grandmother...And then there's the question of ways and means—you know what I mean—at any rate, for the present....Paris must come later... in a few months, I hope...What's the matter?...Are you cold?..." Martine only falters out, 'No, no!' Jeanne continues: "It'll always be rather a makeshift here obviously...Getting together a home of our own, that's what we shall always aim at, of course...Furniture that belongs to us...To sit at our own table...father...mother...children... Why you're shivering!......You *are* cold. Frozen to death! It's nearly dark. We'll go back." Martine's reply is, 'Yes! Oh, yes! ...' The two girls then move out of sight arm in arm, their heads very close together. We have heard both of them, Jeanne saying all that she has to say, Martine uttering only a few words; and yet the situation has been so prepared, all that has gone before, including both language and action, has been so arranged, that Martine's feelings, though unexpressed, stand revealed with all the clearness that we are in the habit of demanding from language. In the Fourth Scene, when Julien comes back from Paris and Jeanne receives him with the eagerness of a newly married girl, there follows a situation similar to that of their first meeting referred to above. This time Martine stands rooted in a corner, watching the lovers intently, without moving. She is quite conscious of being in the way, but to move is beyond her strength. She tries to speak, but cannot. Then, suddenly, without a word, she goes out. Martine does not speak, but it is difficult to imagine what she could have spoken in the circumstances. The tumult passing within herself can be dealt with [illegible]nly by an art of the unexpressed. The art of the ex[illegible]sed is here out of place. We shall consider one more [illegible]tion to be found at the end of the fifth and last scene of the piece. Old Madame Mervan is dead. Jeanne and Julien have come down from Paris to settle her affairs. They will now permanently leave Grandchin. So, before departure, Julien comes to see Martine who is now the mistress of Alfred's household. Julien's conscience is not quite easy. He now seems to have realised that he has not treated Martine quite fairly. But Martine does not grumble at her lot. She looks after Alfred's fowls and measures out old wine from his cellar. Only there is some change in her appearance. Her face is graver than it was. Her hair, which in the old days waved freely round her face, is now drawn tightly back. But she is perfectly calm. Bernard again tries to reveal what is there behind this calm. Julien recalls, almost against his will, the very brief period when Martine and he were friends. Before leaving he would fain have an assurance from her that there is still a bond of common memory between them. That lovely July noon when they first met each other on the road, doesn't she still keep a corner for it in her heart ? Martine, who has been moved by this last leave-taking of Julien, is deeply agitated at this question. For her meeting with Julien under the apple-tree may be only one of the many bright days of his life, but it is the only one bright day in her life, the memory of which she will treasure up for ever. She is so deeply agitated that she trembles and her fair eyes become wild. She does not completely recover from this shock even when Jeanne and Julien have left. She is left alone with Alfred. She utters with effort scarcely half a dozen words in three attempts. Then Alfred lights up the lamp above the table ; Martine sits down, he sits facing her and the only sound in the room is the heavy ticking of the clock. What a dead weight of silence hangs on Martine's heart ! What a distance have we traversed ! In the great tragedies of Shakspere when the curtain falls over the last scene, the impression left on our mind is the impression of a world left behind, a great distance traversed through tumult and bloodshed. Here is something of the same impression but produced all through silence.

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[1] John Palmer, *Studies in the Contemporary Theatre*, p. 106.

From this examination of Bernard's play it will be seen that the theory of silence implies not merely a new dramatic method but a new attitude to life. The drama of silence is true to life and yet it avoids the eloquence and reasoning of Shaw's plays and the meticulous detail of Ibsen's or Hauptmann's. It presents life in a new light produces a new naturalism. The presentation, however, is onl external sign of an essential change in the artist's attitude. He life not as a social problem or as a product of the social circums of the day, but rather as a spiritual reality, as something essen individual in character. He is concerned with an order of ideas emotions wholly different from that of the later 19th century school of dramatists.[1] From the viewpoint of this new attitude to life H. R. Lenormand may be as much claimed to belong to the school of silence as J.-J. Bernard, though they do not cover exactly the same ground. Bernard generally deals with ideas and emotions which, though falling short of expression, form part of conscious life. It is only in *The* is as real and moving as that of any heroine of Ibsen. And, at the same time, these plays do not lack the technical excellence that is indispensable for success on the stage. Details introduced to meet the needs of theory have been skilfully handled to produce effects of sensuous beauty. When tired Martine sees the shade of the apple-tree, it is stated in the stage-direction, she stretches her hands to it delightedly. This little movement of her arms not only helps to emphasise the silence of the atmosphere around but at once impresses the spectators with the statuesque beauty of Martine's rustic figure. The Arab melody that Luke plays to Jeannine at the beginning of Lenormand's play and the faint screeching of an Arab fiddle by a black beggar towards its end serve to connect Jeannine's unhappy present with the remote past by disturbing the depths of her subconsciousness ; but what a splendid effect these snatches of romantic music produce on the stage. These plays may thus be appreciated as works of pure art even without any reference to the theories on which they are based.

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[1] John Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

The theory of silence in drama, it has been pointed out, was to some extent anticipated by Diderot as early as the eighteenth century, but he did not follow it in practice. [1] In its present form, as implying not merely a method but an attitude to life, it owes its origin to Maeterlinck and its development to J.-J. Bernard and Denys Amiel. It is thus a peculiar feature of the French theatre after the War ; only, if Lenormand's drama of psycho-analysis can be affiliated to this school of silence, some claim to kinship with the school may also be made for Pirandello's drama of the mystery of human personality. In England, however, none of the post-war experiments in the field of drama would seem to have anything to do with this development. These attempts have been made to give dramatic representation to international problems, to put the mass-mind and its contradictory impressions on to the stage and to present the devastation and sufferings caused by the War ; [2] but the materials handled in these attempts are of a character which perhaps necessarily precludes the use of silence. When towards the end of the 19th century Maeterlinck first advocated the case of a 'static theatre,' the *Times Literary Supplement* accused him of heresy. [3] The general British mind perhaps still thinks in the same

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[1] D. Knowles, *op. cit.*, p. 493.

[2] A. C. Ward, *The Nineteen-Twenties* (1930), pp. 71-74.

[3] *The Times Lit. Supplement* for 23rd May, 1902, quoted in Butcher's *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, 4th edition, p. 351.

RAMMOHUN ROY—SOME FACTS CONNECTED WITH HIS EARLY LIFE

UPENDRANATH BALL
Dayal Singh College, Lahore.

HIS ANCESTORS

RAMMOHUN Roy was born in a Kulin Brahman family of Radhanagar in the District of Hooghly. They came originally from Kanauj, and his remote ancestor Bhattanarayan first settled in Eastern Bengal. For twelve generations they lived there. Sanketa Bandyopadhyay removed to Brihat Bangalpas where the family remained for five generations. It is believed that Govinda migrated to the village of Benipur in the district of Murshidabad. His great-great-grandson Parasuram was the first in the family to accept service under the Nawabs of Bengal, and it was he who was conferred the honorific title of 'Roy.' The family has retained the title since then. Parasuram was five generations ahead of Rammohun Roy and five generations below Govinda Bandyopadhyay who was in the eighteenth step from Bhattanarayan. In the fourth generation after Parasuram was Brajabinode grand-father of Rammohun.

In the "Autobiographical Sketch" published by Sandford Arnot in the *Athenaeum* (Oct. 5, 1833) Rammohun Roy himself wrote: "My ancestors were Brahmins of a high order, and, from time immemorial, were devoted to the religious duties of their race, down to my fifth progenitor, who about one hundred and forty years ago gave up spiritual exercises for wordly pursuits and aggrandisement. His descendants ever since have followed his example, and, according to the usual fate of courtiers, with various success, sometimes rising to honour, and sometimes falling; sometimes rich and sometimes poor; sometimes excelling in success, sometimes miserable through disappointment."

This is supposed to have been written before Rammohun left for France in 1832. So Parasurâm possibly accepted service in about 1692. His son Krishnachandra was in the service of Sultan Azim-ush Shan, grandson of Emperor Aurangzeb and son of Muazzam who later on assumed the title of Bahadur Shah. Azim-ush Shan was sent by

Aurangzeb to suppress a rising in Bengal in 1698. Raja Sobha Singh of Chetwabarda in Midnapore led an attack on Krishnaram of Burdwan and was killed while he was trying to outrage the modesty of a daughter of the Raja of Burdwan. Krishnaram was succeeded by his son Jagatram who was granted the Zamindary of Sobha Singh. Azim-ush Shan left Bengal in 1707 when his father Bahadur Shah was involved in the war of succession. Feruksiyar was left in charge of Bengal, with Murshid Kuli Khan as his Dewan. During the administration of Murshid Kuli Khan who became the Subadar of Bengal in about 1712 Raja Keertichand of Burdwan assisted him in subjugating the Hindu Zamindars who still retained some independence, and for this service he was allowed to occupy the Zamindary of Bhoorsoot in Hooghly and Chandrakona in Midnapore. It was at this time that Krishnachandra Roy, son of Parasuram Roy, came to Burdwan as Sikdar at the instance of Bhabananda Roy, a minister of the Nawab. Babu Brajendranath Banerjee says: "his great-grandfather Krishnachandra Banerjee, was in the service of the ruler of Bengal, who conferred on him the title of Roy-Rayan." (Calcutta Review, Dec., 1933.) This does not seem to be a correct statement. Pandit Mahendranath Vidyanidhi has traced with great care the history of the family of Rammohun (*Nabyabharat*, Aswin, 1303 B.S.). He says Parasuram received the title of Roy, and this tallies with the statement in the Autobiographical Sketch. Roy-Rayan was the title of a high revenue officer and none of the family reached this position. Krishnachandra was a Sikdar which was an office of subordinate rank below that of the Faujdar.

The services of Krishnachandra were engaged by Raja Keertichand in reducing Anantaram Choudhury of Khanakul-Krishnagar. So early in the eighteenth century Krishnachandra came to Burdwan and he was persuaded to settle in the village of Radhanagar. The surroundings of Radhanagar have been thus described by Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary: "Radhanagar and the villages around and across the river were strongholds of intellectual and spiritual activities, which alone could have inspired and fostered what the Raja stood for in later life. Sanskrit and Persian were the educational assets of the well-to-do and middle class people of those days. There were hundreds of *tols* round about which gathered geniuses that grappled with and modified the teachings of the redoubtable Raghunandan of Navadwip. Here began the Raja's knowledge of Sanskrit, which he adored and utilised for his combats in later life... Here, in the humble *munshi-chala* of Ramnarayan Sarvadhikary, the Raja had his early Persian and Arabic training, which he expanded in Patna, as he expanded his Sanskrit training in Benares. Here flourished the teachings of Abhiram Swami, one of the favourite *Gopals* of Sri Chaitanya, who had himself visited the locality to assist Abhiram's Vaishnava propaganda, on his way to Orissa, the royal road to which goes past the prosperous surrounding villages. Here flourished the Saivaite creed under the shadow of the temple of Ghanteswar Siva, one of the twelve Jyotirlingas adored by Saivaites. Here flourished Kanad, and near about was the *pancha-mundi-Ashan* of Agamavagisa, the Tantric sect which gave the Raja one of the foundations of his creed,—the *Mahanirvāna Tantra,*—along with *Vedanta and Upanishads.* Not far were the mosque of the pious Moslems of Dharampur and the Dharma temple of the Buddhists; and in the *atithisala* or the guest-house on the Puri Road close by, used to congregate pious *sādhus* and holy *sannyasis,* from whom young Rammohun had teachings and ideas that stood him well in all his life."

Krishnachandra selected the left bank of the Dwarakeswar on the other side of Krishnagar where he was greatly impressed by its religious atmosphere. The idol of Gopinath installed by Abhiram Goswami was an object of great attraction to him. Krishnachandra had three sons, Amarchandra, Hariprosad and Brajabinode. The youngest Brajabinode was a pious Hindu. He was also employed in the service of the Nawab of Bengal. In his petition to Lord Minto in 1809 Rammohun referred to his grandfather as holding charge of various districts during the administration of the Nawab Mahabat Jung, and the Emperor Akbar Shah II also wrote in a letter to Rammohun of his grandfather as rendering good services to Shah Alam II at the time of his residence in the Eastern Provinces. Babu Brajendranath Banerjee has identified Mahabat Jung as Alivardi. This evidently is not a correct identification. In the treaty with the East India Company in 1763 Mir Jafar is mentioned as Mahabat Jung in the seal of the Nawab. The seal on the Perwana granting land to the East India Company on about the 20th December, 1757, by Mir Jafar also bears the title of Mahabut Jung. It was in the time of Mir Jafar that Alam Gir, later known as Shah Alam, came to the Eastern Provinces. The seal is sufficiently descriptive: "Alam Geer, Emperor, fighting for the faith, his Devoted Meer Mahomed

Jaffier Ally Khan Behauder, Sujah ul Mulck, Hossam o Dowla. Mahabut Jung, Anno 4." (Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. I, p. 15, 1862 edition.) Alivardi no doubt bore also the title of Mohabut Jung. But Shah Alam did not come to the eastern province in his time. If Rammohun really meant Alivardi Brajabinode must have served the Nawabs from the time of Alivardi to the time of Mir Jafar. Pandit Mahendranath Vidyanidhi said that he did not serve under the Mughals, and he was living down to 1768. Nagendranath Chatterjee wrote in the Life of Rammohun that Brajabinode was employed in a high post under Siraj-ud-daula, as he could not pull on with this wilful Nawab he retired from service and spent the rest of his life at Radhanagar. Both these statements are untenable. The information collected from several sources prove that he was in service in the time of Mir Jafar.

Brajabinode had seven sons, named Nemananda, Ramkisore, Radhamohan, Gopimohan, Ramkanta, Ramram and Bisturam. Ramkanta was the fifth son. This information was supplied by Guruprosad Roy, son of Nemananda Roy, and Ramtanu Roy, son of Gopimohan Roy, in the Supreme Court, in their evidence in the case instituted by Govindaprasad Roy in 1817. Ramkanta had three wives, Subhadra Devi, Tarini Devi and Rammani Devi. Tarini Devi was the daughter of Shyam Bhattacharyya of Chatra, near Serampore. The family of Ramkanta believed in the creed of the worship of Bishnu but Shyam Bhattacharyya belonged to the sect of Saktas. Ramkanta had three sons and one daughter. Jagomohan and Rammohun were born of Tarini Devi, and Ramlochan of Rammani Devi, daughter of Ramsankar Roy. Subhadra Devi had no children. Ramkanta is said to have been in the service of Siraj-ud-daula for a short time. This seems to be rather untenable as then at the time of his death he should have been nearly seventy. Whatever may have been the case in his early life, Ramkanta became an important landlord and revenue-farmer. He took big estates from the East India Company and the Raja of Burdwan on lease for the collection of revenues. His name occurs in the list of landlords at the time of the Decennial Settlement. Mr. Ernest, Actg. Collector of Midnapore, wrote to Mr. Parker, Actg. Collector of Burdwan, in a letter dated 25th March, 1803, that Ramkanta Roy held some Mehals in the Zemindary of Burdwan during the period of Decennial Settlement and he always understood him to be a man of substance and respectability (Board of Revenue, Misc. No. 3, April 12, 1803).

He had taken on lease the Talook of Bhursoot for ten years in 1791. This Talook was settled upon him for nine years for the annual revenue of Rs. 1,01,389 (Board of Revenue, Original Consultations No. 35. Proc., p. 65). The Talook once formed the estate of an independent Zamindar and Murshid Kuli Khan allowed Raja Keertichand of Burdwan to occupy it. The Raja of Burdwan helped the Nawab to crush the Hindu nobles and for this service he was rewarded in various ways. In course of time the Burdwan Raj became the most powerful estate in the Western Bengal with extensive property in Burdwan, Hooghly and Midnapore. Ramkanta Roy received on lease from the Raja some Talooks for the collection of revenue. He had also about two hundred Bighas of Brahmottar lands and he used to lend money on interest. He had the reputation of a good manager and was appointed by Rani Bishenkumari of Burdwan as his Agent. Rammohun's father was a man of influence. He lived with his brothers at Radhanagar. The date of his separation with his brothers is not known. But he remained at Radhanagar even after partition. His nephew Guruprasad Roy stated in his evidence in the Supreme Court that his father Nemanada used to live with Ramkanta at Radhanagar. The brothers lived in the same house although they were separate in food, estate and interest. They were divided many years before the birth of Guruprosad, which event took place in about 1771; for at the time of giving his deposition he was forty-seven. Ramtanu Roy said that Ramkanta removed to Langoolpara with his three wives and three sons in 1198 B.S. But Guruprosad Roy said that Ramkanta removed in 1196 B.S. with three wives and two sons. It seems that the removal to Langoolpara took place between 1789 and 1791. The evidence of Guruprosad was more reliable on this point as he was an eye-witness. Shortly after this Ramkanta took the Talook of Bhoorsoot on lease (1791). His eldest son Jagomohun became security for him (Board of Revenue, Orig. Con. No. 30, May 2, 1791).

The Zamindar in charge of the Perganah of Chetwah was in arrears of revenue and so the estate was sold by auction (Orig. Con. No. 35, May 2, 1791). This Perganah was purchased by Jagomohan Roy (Bd. of Rev. Misc. No. 4, Aug., 19, 1794). Ramkanta's sons were associated with him in the management of estates. In 1796 he divided the major portion of his property among his three sons, and retained about fifty or sixty bighas of Brahmottar lands for himself with the Talooks which he had taken on lease from the Company and the Burdwan Raj. There was a small house at Jorasanko, Calcutta, worth about Rs. 3,000 which fell to the share of Rammohun. The Talook of Hurryrampore in Chetwa Perganah was given to Jagomohan Roy. This is rather extraordinary. He mentioned in the deed of sale: " I give the entire taluq of Harirampur in Chetooa Pargana to Jagomohan Ray. With this taluq Rammohun Roy and Ramlochan Roy have no concern " What particular claim Jagomohun had to this property is not stated. Shortly after the partition Ramkanta proceeded to Burdwan, where he owned a house; Ramlochan went to occupy the portion af their homestead at Radhanagar; Rammohun went to Calcutta and Jagomohun remained at Langoolpara. Tarini Devi remained in charge of the wives of her sons. Subhadra Devi remained with her and she undertook to look after the family deities.

The affairs of Ramkanta did not proceed smoothly as he was in arrears in paying the revenue to the Company as well as to the Burdwan Raj. He possibly could not collect the full amount from the Talooks. Most of the revenue-farmers agreed to pay more than what they could collect. A large number of estates were put on sale every year and the Zamindars and farmers were sent to civil jail if they failed to pay in time. Ramkanta executed a Kistbandi (agreement to pay in instalments) for the arrears of revenue on account of the Perganahs Balia, Bagdee, etc., due to the Raja of Burdwan (1796). In 1800 he could not pay Rs. 4,835-10 to the Company on account of the revenue of Bhursoot (Bd. of Rev. O.C. Mis. Nos. 881 and 82, June 10, 1800). Jagomohun Roy was security for his father. He also was in arrears on account of the revenue of Hurryrampore but the amount of Rs. 203-14-1-2 was paid in discharge of his dues. He was however held responsible for the arrears due from his father. The letter of the Collector of Burdwan to the Board of Revenue, dated the 11th July, 1800 (Bd. of Rev. Mis. No. 14, July 15, 1800) throws a flood of light about the position in which Ramkanta was at the time: " Para. 2. I have also to inform you that Juggomohun Roy Proprietor of Hurryrampore has discharged the balance of Sa Rs. 203-14-1-2 account the past year, but a Balance of Sa Rs. 2,851-6: being due from his father Ramcaunt Rai the late farmer of Bursoot, etc. for whom he was security and who is generally understood to be the actual proprietor of Hurryrampore, although it is registered in the name of his son, I have therefore to request your orders whether he is to be permitted to commence the collections of the current year, or what measures are to be adopted for realizing the heavy Balance due for the lands formerly let in farm to Ramcaunt Rai.

"Para. 3rd. Ramcaunt Rai is in confinement for this Balance and although he is very able to discharge it, yet as the Rajah of Burdwan has a large demand against him for which he knows he would be detained even were he to discharge the balance due to Government he is therefore backward in paying the amount."

The arrears due from Ramkanta were recovered by the sale of Hurryrampore and subsequent payments by the defaulter and he was ordered to be released by the Collector of Burdwan on October 1, 1801 (Bd. of Rev. Orig. Con. No. 57, Oct., 9, 1801). The financial condition of both Ramkanta and Jagomohun was very bad at this time. Ramkanta was in arrears to the Burdwan Raj to the extent of about Rs. 80,000 and Jagomohun was in default to the amount of Rs. 5,180. The latter was detained in jail at Midnapore in June, 1801 and was released on paying Rs. 1,000 in cash, which he obtained as loan from Rammohun Roy, and agreeing to pay the balance by monthly instalments (March 9, 1805). Bacharam Sen, one of the old employees of the family, deposed in the Supreme Court that Jagomohun was released in 1212 B.S. The Collector of Midnapore was anxious to release him earlier but as Jagomohun could not provide any security he was detained for about two years and a half. According to the practice of the Government a defaulter was not only detained but his property was auctioned, and in case the full amount was not realised from the sale of the property concerned other property of the farmer could be put up to sale. A portion of Hurryrampore was put up for sale on the 5th February, 1801, but the amount offered was only Sicca Rupees 450; the revenue of the property was Rs. 5,146. The Collector of Burdwan, therefore, postponed the sale. It was ordered to be sold on May 9th. But Jagomohun wanted to sell a part by private arrangement. Meantime the Perganah of Chetwa was divided between Burdwan and Midnapore; and only the Mehal Samnagar remained in Burdwan and the rest was transferred to the Midnapore Collectorate. The Board of Revenue did not agree to the proposal of private sale and ordered to hold the sale on the 27th May. But this could not be held on account of some mistake in issuing the notice regarding the place of sale. The Talook was sold on the 24th Sept., 1801, but the amount recovered was not sufficient to pay the arrears due from Jagomohun Roy. In March, 1803 he made a petition to be released on paying Rs. 500 of the arrears due from him, and executing a Kistbandy to pay the balance of Rs. 5,180 in six years. The Collector of Midnapore made an enquiry from the Collector of Burdwan whether Jagomohun had any other property and whether his father would be able to assist him and make himself answerable and give good security for the performance of the terms offered. Mr. Parker, the Collector of Burdwan, did not find Ramkanta at Burdwan and as he was leaving the place soon he made enquiries from Ramlochan Roy. In a long conversation with him Mr. Parker got the information that Ramkanta had paid only Rs. 500 out of Rs. 80,000 due to the Rajah of Burdwan, which he had agreed to pay in 11 years. Ramlochan stated "that the only chance he has of being able to pay this amount consist in his obtaining a Profit from a Farm of a Lac of Rupees per Annum which he holds of the Rajah, that the dependence of the whole family is on this Farm that will jointly become security for the performance of the terms stated in Jugmohun's Petition to you, but that they cannot add anything to those terms, nor give any separate security for the settlement of them." The Collector further wrote in course of the letter: "I have only to add that I have made enquiries respecting the truth of Ramlochan's assertions from such persons as were immediately near me, and that they all agree in declaring that they believe the family although once opulent, to be now in ruined and desperate circumstances" (Bd. of Rev. Mis. No. 3, 22nd April, 1803).

The Collector of Midnapore wrote to the Board of Revenue on the 26th September, 1803 that Jagomohun had submitted another petition in which he stated that he would pay down Rs. 1000 on his release and the remainder in 34 months at 100 rupees per month. He offered two securities named Sobha Chandra Roy and Ramlochan Roy. But Sobha Chandra refused to have any concern in the transaction and Ramlochan could not be found in his district, and no one was coming forward to become his securities. The Board of Revenue on the 27th January, 1804 wished the Collector of Midnapore to arrange for some securities. Ultimately the offer of Jagomohun was accepted and he was released, for which Ramtanu Roy worked hard.

Ramkanta was in trouble over his Ijara. The Collector of Midnapore wrote in a letter to the Collector of Burdwan on the 25th of March, 1803: "Ramkanta Roy who held some Mehals in the Zamindary of Burdwan during the period of the decennial settlement and whom I have always understood to be a man of substance and respectability, is very much in debt to the Rajah of Burdwan, who obtained decree against him in the Dewany Adalat of Hughly, kept him some time in confinement there, then got him transferred to the Dewany Jail of Burdwan and has since been able to recover little or nothing from him owing to his poverty." From a letter of the Collector of Burdwan we learn that he was released a year and half before the 30th of March, 1803, that is to say, he was released about the month of September, 1801. The evidences gathered from the records show that Ramkanta was long in confinement on account of his debt to the Rajah of Burdwan. After his release Ramkanta did not live long. He died on the 4th Jaist, 1210 B. S. at Burdwan. This information was supplied by Bacharam Sen in his evidence before the Supreme Court, and Guruprosad Roy deposed that Ramkanta went to Burdwan three months before his death in 1210 B.S. The corresponding date in the Christian Era would be about the 20th May, 1803. After his death the Rajah of Burdwan took possession of his house at Burdwan for arrears due to him. The lands he had taken on farm were resumed by the Rajah, and his Lakheraj and Brahmottar lands were applied by Tarini Devi for the service of a deity left by him, and his judgment-debts at Hughly and Burdwan Zilla Courts were claimed by Jagomohun Roy on his release from the jail. He had already divided about 200 bighas of land among his three sons. None but Jagomohun received anything from his property after his death.

Ramkanta Roy was a man of substance. He was a Zamindar owning several Mehals and had about 250 Bighas of Lakheraj and Brahmottar lands. But towards the latter part of his life he was reduced to penury on account of the difficulties of collecting the money from the tenants and possibly because the amount of revenue settled upon was high. Since the Regulation introducing the Permanent Settlement was enforced many Zamindars were not only driven out of their estates but had to undergo the humiliating punishment of detention in the civil jail. Ramkanta suffered along with other respectable persons from the evils of the land revenue system.

EARLY LIFE OF RAMMOHUN ROY.

The family in which Rammohun Roy was born was a cultured Hindu family. His father and other relations were educated in Persian and Sanskrit and the atmosphere about the village of Radhanagar was intellectual according to the traditions of the place. There is some controversy about the date and year of his birth. Miss Collet accepted May 22, 1772 as the date on the authority of the Rev. C.H.A. Dall, and corroborated by persons in touch with Radhaprosad Roy and Ramaprosad Roy, sons of Rammohun Roy. The horoscope giving the actual information is not avaliable but some gentlemen searched in the records of the family astrologers who prepared the horoscope and were satisfied that the date given by Miss Collet was correct. But some doubt has been expressed about the authenticity of the evidence. Of course such evidence can hardly be accepted as sound. In the absence of any authentic material people are led to believe, as it has been recorded on the tombstone at Arno's Vale, that he was born in 1774. There is some difficulty in accepting this date also. Rammohun went to Patna at the age of about nine and stayed there for nearly three years. Then he proceeded to Benares where he perfected his Sanskritic studies. At the age of fourteen he formed the acquaintance of Nandakumar Vidyalankar, later known as Hariharananda Tirthaswami. He then left his home at the age of fifteen and visited various parts of India and Tibet. After two or three years he returned home. He was then about eighteen.

About the date of his birth some indirect evidence has been obtained from the deposition of his relations at the Supreme Court. Guruprosad Roy was a cousin of Rammohun, being the son of his uncle Nemanand Roy. His father and Ramkanta Roy used to live in the same house at Radhanagar. Jagomohun and Rammohun were born when Guruprosad became acquainted with Ramkanta and he knew Ramkanta from his childhood. At the time of deposition Guruprosad was of 47 years, that is to say, he was born in about 1771. There was not much difference between his age and that of Rammohun. In these circumstances 1772 does not seem to be an impossible date for the birth of Rammohun.

His education was started in a village Pathsala. Kissorychand Mitra wrote in the *Calcutta Review* of 1845 that Rammohun received the elements of education according to the system practised in the cultured Bengali families. He learnt Bengali and Arithmetic from the village teacher and he also picked up some Persian and Arabic. At Radhanagar next-door to the house of Ramkanta was the *munsi-chala* of Ramnarayan Sarvadhikary from whom Rammohun received his first lessons in Persian. Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary, a descendant of Ramnarayan Sarvadhikary, spoke about the matter in his address on the occasion of opening the exhibition during the Centenary Celebrations at Calcutta. He proceeded to Patna at the age of nine to study Persian and Arabic, and after about three years he went to Benares. At the age of fourteen Rammohun met Hariharananda Tirthaswami and since then became very intimate with him. The deposition given by Hariharananda at the Supreme Court states that " he had known the defendant Rammohun Roy from the time that the said defendant attained the age of fourteen years and hath ever since been on the most intimate terms with him." This passage has been interpreted by Mr. Brajendranath Banerjee as an evidence of Rammohun's learning Sanskrit from Hariharananda, that he met him at Radhanagar, and that the childhood of Rammohun was spent at Radhanagar. A careful study of the passage does not justify such an assumption. The meeting might have taken place at Benares then the resort of Sanskrit scholars and *Sadhus*. In the obituary notice of Hariharananda published in the *Samachar Durpan* (February 14, 1832) it was stated that he died on the 5th of Magh, 1238 B. S., *i.e.*, in the month of Jany., 1832, at the age of seventy. He renounced the world at an early age and after travelling in various parts he settled at Benares about twenty years before his death. The idea of Hariharananda teaching Sanskrit to Rammohun is untenable in view of this statement. The association of this ascetic probably led Rammohun to undertake his wanderings in the remote parts.

His studies in Arabic and Sanskrit made Rammohun question about the orthodox practices. He used to hold discussions with his father and as Dr. Lanc Carpenter says he determined at the early age of fifteen to leave his paternal home and intended to visit Tibet with a view to see another form of religious faith. William Adam, a close friend of Rammohun wrote of him in 1826 that he wanted to seclude himself from the world at the age of fourteen and at this period of life he met Nandakumar Vidyalankar (Hariharananda). From the nature of Nandakumar's career it is permissible to believe that Rammohun accompanied him to the important places in the Himalayas and then crossed over to Tibet. There he spent about two or three years and then returned home. It is rather unfortunate that the old numbers of the *Sambad Kaumudi* in which accounts of his travels were published cannot now be found. According to the calculations here followed Rammohun returned home in about 1790. This does not clash with the removal of Ramkanta to Langoolpara in 1791. The tradition is that although the son returned to his father the differences regarding religious views were not reconciled. William Adam writes that Rammohun was obliged to reside for ten or twelve years at Benares on account of his religious differences. This statement has also been challenged. Some letters have been found which show that Rammohun was connected with the management of his father's Talooks in 1798 and 1799. He was a signatory to the Partition deed executed by his father in 1796. He came to Calcutta in 1797 for giving a loan of Rs. 7,50 to an English Civilian. There is evidence to the effect that he went to Patna, Benares and other places in about 1800 and was moving about till 1803 In this time he also used to come to his village as well to Calcutta. This fact proves that the statement of Adam was possibly not absolutely wrong. Rammohun might have spent some part of the year at Benares as a student very often does and come home occasionally. Ramkanta Roy purchased a Talook in the name of Jagomohun who was also security in the case of Bhursoot. Rammohun had nothing to do with these transactions. In one transaction of Rammohun Hariharananda was a witness towards the close of 1799. This also is an evidence that Rammohun enjoyed his company at Benares and he might have come with him to his village. The signatures added to the letters discovered by Mahendranath Vidyanidhi do not prove that Rammohun was living in his village throughout the year. The most fantastic interpretation put upon a passage of Nandakumar Vidyalankar's evidence is that Rammohun married one wife in the neighbourhood of 1799. The passage really means that although Rammohun was a married man at or before 1799, he had no children born by that time. As a matter of fact Rammohun had two wives whom he married when he was about nine years old.

In the Autobiographical Sketch there is a reference to his education and travels. It is stated there that according to the usage of his paternal race he studied the Persian and Arabic languages as they were indispensable for those who attached themselves to the courts of the

Mahomedan princes. Agreeably to the usage of his maternal relations he devoted himself to the study of Sanskrit and theological works. " When about the age of sixteen, I composed a manuscript calling in question the validity of the idolatrous system of the Hindoos. This, together with my known sentiments on that subject, having produced a coolness between me and my immediate kindred, I proceeded on my travels; and passed through different countries, chiefly within, but some beyond, the bounds of Hindoostan,...When I had reached the age of twenty, my father recalled me, and restored me to his favour." And in the Introduction to the *Tuhfatul Muwahhiddin* about which there is no doubt that it was Rammohun who wrote it, he says: " I travelled in the remotest parts of the world, in plains as well as in hilly lands." These two extracts agree with the tradition that he left home and after a few years he was recalled. The doubts expressed by some writers about these travels are not valid. But it cannot be definitely said how long he was away from home.

The religious views of Rammohun are sufficiently expressed in the Persian pamphlet published in 1804. This critical analysis of different creeds gives an idea of the wide knowledge of the writer, which must have taken a number of years to study and to develop. The Introduction was written in Arabic, and this language could not have been used unless the writer were a consummate scholar in that language. Rammohun had learnt it from his childhood, he had acquired proficiency in it at Patna. In the petition to Lord Minto Rammohun wrote in April, 1809: " The education which your petitioner has received, as well as the particulars of his birth and parentage, will be made known to your Lordship by a reference to the principal officers of the *Sudder Dewani Adalat* and the College of Fort William and many of the gentlemen in the service of the Hon'ble Company, as well as other gentlemen of respectability and character." Mr. Digby also referred the Board of Revenue to the Qazi-ul-Quzat to the Sadar Dewani Adalat, and to the Head Persian Munshi of the College of Fort William and to the other principal officers of those Departments for the character and qualifications of Rammohun Roy in a letter on the 31st Jany., 1810. If some particulars of these officials had been known further light would have been thrown on the early life of Rammohun. Mr. Brajendranath Banerjee thinks that Rammohun formed acquaintance with the gentlemen mentioned here at Calcutta and that he perfected his knowledge of Persian and Arabic also at Calcutta. But is it not possible that they knew him earlier at Patna, when he went there for study, and that these gentlemen later on rose to high office in Calcutta ? His family life must have been known to his teachers. He did not stay long in Calcutta between 1797 and 1804. His visits were few and far between. In course of these visits he could not have formed intimate acquaintance and perfect his knowledge in the difficult Arabic language. Morever the reputation of the family was at this time on the decline. So we are compelled to hold that the acquaintance was earlier, when the family enjoyed high reputation and the relations of Rammohun with them were very close.

Gooroodas Mukherjee deposed at the Supreme Court that Ramkanta removed to Langoolpara in 1198 or 99 B.S., with his wives and children and a similar evidence was given by Ramtanu Roy that Ramkanta was accompanied by his three wives and three sons. So it is a fact that Rammohun went with his father to Langoolpara in about 1791 A.D.; it was possibly immediately on his return from his travels. Rammohun Roy's name appears in a letter bearing date 1202 B.S., in which an order has been issued to a subordinate officer of his father regarding some property. This indicates that Rammohun was not unconnected with family affairs. But in 1796 (1203 B.S.) Ramkanta Roy executed a deed of partition, allotting lands to each of his three sons. Rammohun received his share but Jagomohun was specially treated. After the partition Ramlochan went with his mother to Radhanagar, Jagomohun remained at Langoolpara and Ramkanta went to Burdwan. A small house at Calcutta fell to the share of Rammohun, and he proceeded there and shortly afterwards he went out to Patna, Benares and other places. Some speculation has been indulged in about this partition. Mr. Brajendranath Banerjee is of opinion that on account of his financial troubles Ramkanta being a shrewd man of business executed this deed with a view to avoid payment to his creditors. This is an unfair aspersion upon the character of Ramkanta. The circumstances of the transactions are not known to us. In the case instituted by Govindaprosad against Rammohun Roy in the Supreme Court Rammohun's mother Tarini Devi was summoned as a witness by the complainant, and a number of cross-interrogatories were submitted to the Court to be put to her. But as she did not appear the answer was not available. The cross-interrogatory was: "Did you not hear from the said Ramkanta Roy, why or for what reason he had made such partition of his property during his life-time ? If yea, declare what reasons were assigned by the said Ramkanta Roy for so dividing and allotting his property ? Did not the sons of the said Ramkanta Roy, or either, and which of them immediately after such partition take possession of the respective shares of property which were allotted to them by such partition and did not the same Ramkanta retain the possession of such property as had been reserved for himself ? "

Rammohun admitted this partition, and various witnesses on both sides deposed to the effect that since the partition Rammohun lived apart from his mother and family. Ramtanu Roy stated: " The defendant after such partition and division did go to various parts of the country and enter into different services and hath from time to time purchased several Talooks from his self-acquired means." Similarly Guruprosad Roy said: " nine months after the partition Rammohun came to reside in Calcutta, but his wives continued to reside in Langoolpara." Although the share allotted to Rammohun was managed in his name the income was credited to Tarini Devi for the maintenance of his family and the service of the deities. What made Rammohun leave his village ? Evidently he was not quite comfortable with his mother and other near kindreds as he has said elsewhere. It has been asked why then Ramlochan Roy was separated. The partition might have been due to the differences between Tarini Devi and Rammoni Devi. It is not quite impossible. But that does not explain the question of the estrangement of Rammohun from his mother and wives. The only thing that has any reference to the career of Rammohun was that he felt it necessary to seek his fortune elsewhere, of which there is ample evidence, and which no one has disputed.

Some controversy has arisen regarding the financial affairs of Rammohun and the relations with his parents It has been stated that Ramkanta allotted some property to each of his sons, and he retained the management of the Zamindary estates in his own hands. One particular estate was made over to Jagomohun. But from the records of the Board of Revenue and the evidence submitted in the Supreme Court subsequently it appears that other members of his family were connected in some way with the Talooks. It appears that the sons of Ramkanta and his relations either served as under-tenure holders or sub-tenants or as subordinate employees. Ramlochan Roy stated to the Collector of Burdwan that the whole family depended upon the farm which Ramkanta had taken from the Rajah of Burdwan. Jagomohun was security for his father for the farm of Bhursoot. Bacharam Sen deposed in his cross-examination that Ramkanta carried on separate dealings and transactions to the amount of 2 lakhs and sometimes 2½ lakhs. Ramkanta naturally obtained the services of his sons and relations in various capacities. Rammohun might have been serving as a subordinate in some capacity and that explains his orders to the subordinates to release the crops of some of his cousins.

The Zamindary collections were not satisfactory in many cases and Ramkanta was no exception. He alone was responsible for the management of his estates, and about this matter there might have been some differences with his sons. But we find that he was embarrassed over these transactions. The Government of Bengal and the Rajah of Burdwan demanded full payment of their dues. He had already entered into an agreement with the Burdwan Raj over some arrears of revenue. But his liabilities were gradually increased and he had to suffer civil detention on that account. On his death the Burdwan Raj resumed the estates and confiscated his house at Burdwan which was worth about eight thousands. The Government of Bengal was satisfied with regard to its dues from Ramkanta. But the balances due from Jagomohun could not be recovered and after his death the property of his son Govindaprosad was put up to sale even in 1822. Such were the rigours of the revenue laws of Bengal.

Rammohun was a young man of resourceful habits. After the separation Ramkanta "employed himself solely in managing the portion of the said real estate which he had reserved to himself and in managing two Zamindaries which he had taken to farm from the Collector of Burdwan and two or three other Zamindaries which he had farmed from the Rajah of Burdwan and which he managed solely on his own separate and exclusive account and not jointly with any person or persons whomsoever" (Evidence of Gooroodas Mukherjee, 1819). Rammohun had no responsibility in the management of the estates. But he had some private means which he developed. He was a Kulin Brahman and was thrice married. So he must have some money from the marriages as was the custom in those days. It was not impossible that he had invested that money in some profitable loans when he separated from his father. Radhakrishtno Banerjee of Kidderpore belonging to the family of their family priest said :

" He believed that the said defendant hath had means and opportunities of acquiring money after such partition and during the lifetime of his said father." With the means at his command Rammohun gave a loan of Rs. 7,500 to the Hon'ble Andrew Ramsay, a Civil Servant of the East India Company on the Bengal Establishment. Golaknarain Sircar who served Rammohun at this time deposed in May, 1819 that 21 or 22 years ago he carried the money to the office of an attorney where the transaction took place. Rammohun in his answer filed before the Supreme Court admitted that he recovered a sum of about eight thousand Sicca Rupees from the Hon. Andrew Ramsay, formerly Commercial Resident at Jangepore since the death of his father. This amount consisted of the principal and part of the interest.

Two years and a half after the partition Rammohun purchased two Talooks of Govindapur from Gangadhar Ghose for Rs. 3,100 on the 30th of Assar, 1206 (July, 1799). And on the same day he purchased the Talook of Rameswarpore from Ramtonu Roy for the price of Sicca Rupees one thousand eight hundred. These two Talooks were purchased by Gangadhar Ghose and Ramtonu Roy respectively at the Collector's Sale at Burdwan. Gangadhar purchased in 1206 B.S. and Ramtanu in 1205 B.S. Ramtonu Roy was a witness to the purchase effected by Rammohun at Burdwan. Baddinath Ghose, brother of Gangadhar Ghose, also deposed in the Supreme Court, to the sale by his brother. Shortly after the purchase of these Talooks Rammohun planned to proceed to Patna, Benares and other provinces remote from Calcutta and "considering the uncertainty of life and having at that time no child he was desirous that in the event of his death happening during his absence from Catcutta one Gooroodas Muckerjea then an infant of ten or twelve years and who was the only son of his sister should after his death inherit or become entitled to the said two Talooks of Rameswarpore and Govindapur and that he therefore as is usual amongst Hindus caused a nominal transfer of the said two Talooks to be executed to Rajiblochan Roy, a confidential friend of his, in trust for the said Gooroodas Muckerjea and that he at the same time received from Rajiblochan Roy a declaration in writing in the name of Gooroodas Muckerjea that the said two Talooks were held by the said Rajiblochan Roy in trust for the said Gooroodas Muckerjea in the event of the death of Rammohun Roy during his intended absence from Calcutta."

Rammohun proceeded on his intended visit, a fact testified to by Gopeemohan Chatterjea, a Muktear in the employ of Rammohun and who served as his Tahsildar since 1208 B.S. He deposed in 1818 that Rammohun lived or resided for seventeen or eighteen years before that date sometimes in Calcutta, sometimes in Patna, Benares, Rangpur and Dacca and sometimes in Jessore, and that he went on two several occasions to Langoolpara to visit his wife and mother. He further deposed that in the Bengali year 1209 (1802) the sum of Rs. 5,000 was lent to Mr. Thomas Woodforde, a Civil Servant of the Bengal Establishment. Of this sun Rs. 3,000 was borrowed from Joykishen Singh, and the total amount of five thousand was handed over to Jagannath Mazumdar, a person known to be the Sircar of Mr. Woodforde. Rammohun also admitted to have recovered this amount with interest some time later on and Gopeemohun Chatterjea credited this amount to the account of Mr. Woodforde. The same witness also deposed that Rammohun lent sums of money to his brother Jagomohun from time to time. A receipt in the hand of Jagomohun has been found in the Records of the Supreme Court, in which, Jagomohun acknowledges receipt of Rs. 1,000 and promises to pay it back in one year with interest at the rate of Re. 1 per cent. (1211 B.S. Falgun 3, corresponding to February, 1805). Shortly after receiving this money Jagomohun was released from the Civil Jail at Midnapore.

A charge has been brought against Rammohun that he did not come to the assistance of his father and brother when they were in distress, that in spite of the fact that he was in prosperous circumstances he did not make any attempt to relieve his father or his brother. The information so far available proves that Rammohun was away when Ramkanta and Jagomohun were detained in jail. By the time he returned his father had been released. Even if he were present it was beyond his power to save his father from detention. The records already quoted have proved that the liabilities of Ramkanta to the Burdwan Raj amounted to Rs. 80,000. Rammohun did not possess means to pay so much. The little money he had he had already invested. His credit in the market was not so great as he could have secured such a heavy amount. He had some Brahmottar lands, and so had Ramkanta, Jagomohun and Ramlochan. These lands were not touched either by the Government or the Burdwan Raj as their Zamindary estates were in default. Rammohun was not responsible for the management of these estates. Moreover people knew that his separation from his family was not voluntary and in any of the documents connected with the case his name does not appear. The Collector of Midnapore or the Collector of Burdwan made no reference whatsoever to him. They were acquainted with the situation much more closely than the students of the records at the present time. If there had been any connection with Rammohun they would not have allowed him to escape.

Another serious reflection has been made that Rammohun received financial help from his father after the partition in giving loan to the Hon'ble Andrew Ramsay, and in purchasing the Talooks of Rameswarpore and Govindapur. This accusation formed the subject of Govindaprosad's complaint against Rammohun. As the matter was thoroughly dealt with in the Supreme Court we would like to discuss this with some detail.

GOVINDAPROSAD *vs.* RAMMOHUN.

Govindaprosad Roy, son of Jagomohun Roy, filed a suit against Rammohun Roy in the Equity Division of the Supreme Court on the 23rd June, 1817. The Defendant appeared by Attorney on the 25th June, and filed his Answer on the 4th October. The Complainant filed his Replication on the 19th November and the Defendant submitted his Rejoinder on the 1st December. The Complainant filed his Interrogatories on the 27th January, 1818. Examination of the witnesses on behalf of the Complainant started on the 9th April. 17 witnesses were subpoened on behalf of Govindaprosad, but he was able to produce only 6 witnesses. As the case proceeded very slowly Rammohun made an application to expedite as he had brought witnesses from such distant places as Burdwan and Patna. He filed his cross-interrogatories on the 27th August. The witnesses on behalf of the Defendant appeared in due time and when Govindaprosad found that he could not maintain his case he applied to the Court to be permitted to prosecute the suit in *forma pauperis*, on the 24th August, 1819. When he had sworn the Affidavit to the effect that he did not possess more than one hundred rupees after paying his debts the Chief Justice, the Hon'ble Sir Edward Hyde East granted the petition. But he had obtained the permission by making a false representation. Several witnesses submitted evidence to the effect that he still possessed sufficient property. So the Chief Justice discharged him as a pauper and he had to pay the cost of the application to depauperise him (September 22, 1819). After the publication of the records a subpoena was issued on the 6th October to hear judgment. On the 10th December, 1819 three judges of the Supreme Court, Sir Edward Hyde East, Sir Francis Macnaghten and Sir Antony Buller passed judgment dismissing the Bill of Complaint with costs.

The subject-matter of Gobindaprosad's complaint was that after the partition and allotment Ramkanta purchased the Talooks of Govindapur and Rameswarpore for the joint benefit of himself, Rammohun and Jagomohun; that Ramkanta lent out of joint funds a large sum of money to the Hon'ble Andrew Ramsay and on the death of Ramkanta the money was recovered by Rammohun and also another debt made to Thomas Woodeforde out of the joint funds was recovered by Rammohun; that after the death of Ramkanta Rammohun and Jagomohun purchased out of their joint funds the Talooks of Kissenagore in Perganah Jahanabad, Birloak in the same Perganah, and Langoolparah in the Perganah of Bograh; that a plot of sixteen bighas of garden land was purchased in Raghunathpore out of the joint funds, and also many rent-free lands, and the Talook of Serampore in Bhoorsuit; that Rammohun Roy had purchased two houses in Calcutta with the joint funds. Therefore the Complainant applied "That the said Rammohun Roy may set forth a full, true and particular account and description of the said real estate and the value thereof and also a full, true and particular account of the said personal estate as the same was at the time of the death of the said Jagomohun Roy and as the same now is and of what hath come to the hands, possession or power of the said Rammohun Roy or of any other person or persons to his use and that the Complainant may be declared entitled to one full and equal moiety or half of the said joint estate, immoveable or real estate, and to an account with him touching the said joint immoveable or real Estate come to his hands, possession or power of any other person or persons to his use and to pay to the Complainant whatever upon such account being taken shall be found due and owing from the said Rammohun Roy to the Complainant hereby offering to pay to the said Rammohun Roy whatever sums of money (if any) shall upon such account being taken be found due and owing from the Complainant to the said Rammohun Roy and that one or more commission or commissions of Partition may issue out of and under the seal of the Honourable Court for the purpose of making such partition of the said immoveable or real estate as aforesaid" and so on.

The reply of Rammohun Roy refuted all the charges. He denied that he ever reunited with his father or brother after the partition, but he admitted that he was joint owner with Jagomohun Roy of the house at Langoolpara, and upto 1801, that is so long as Jagomohun was competent to contribute, both the brothers contributed to the maintenance of their mother and their families under the superintendence of Tarini Devi, and the expenses of religious ceremonies. They had separate servants and establishments. Tarini Devi employed some Sircars and servants who used to receive the money from the brothers on behalf of their mother. Jagomohun Roy died in the month of Chait 1218 B.S. (corresponding to 1812, March and April), leaving his only son Govindaprosad Roy as his heir. Two years and a half after the partition he purchased the Talooks of Rameswarpore and Govindapur with his own proper money and for his own separate and exclusive use and benefit. These two estates he transferred to the name of Rajiblochan Roy when he was about to proceed to Patna, Benares and to other provinces remote from Calcutta. In the event of his death during his absence from Calcutta he desired that these Talooks might be inherited by his nephew Gooroodas Mukherjea, then a boy of ten or eleven, and received a declaration from Rajiblochan Roy that he held these Talooks in trust for Gooroodas. Neither Ramkanta nor Jagomohun had any share in these estates. Shortly after the transfer of these Talooks a son was born to Rammohun, and consequently he changed his mind with regard to the disposal of the Talooks after his death. When Gooroodas Mukherjee attained the age of twentysix or thereabout Rammohun resumed the Talooks and in order to compensate Gooroodas for the disappointment he experienced his title to the house at Langoolpara was transferred to Gooroodas.

Ramlochan Roy died in the month of Pous, 1216 B.S. (1809-10, Dec. Jany.). His only son Hargovind Roy succeeded him. Hargovind also died in Bhadra, 1221 B.S. (1814, Aug.-Sept.) leaving his daughter Drabomoyee Devi as his heiress. She married Durgaprosad Mukherjea, and they had then living male and female issues. Hargovind's widow Harasundaree Devi survived him but neither Labangalata Devi, widow of Ramlochan Roy, nor Harsundaree Devi, widow of Hargovind Roy was living in Calcutta at that time and they were not subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. Neither Rammohun nor Ramlochan in his life time or his heir claimed to be entitled to any part of the estate immoveable or moveable, real or personal of which Ramkanta Roy was possessed at any time of his death. But Jagomohun Roy preferred in certain claims as the sole heir of the late Ramkanta Roy before the Zillah Court of Burdwan and also before the Provincial Court of Appeal of Calcutta, and in default of other claimants Jagomohun Roy was recognised by the Courts as the sole heir of Ramkanta Roy. There was no property jointly owned by Ramkanta Roy, Jagomohun Roy and Rammohun Roy at the time of the death of Ramkanta Roy.

Rammohun Roy had advanced loans to the Hon'ble Andrew Ramsay and Thomas Woodforde, Esq., out of his own proper monies, and neither Ramkanta nor Jagomohun had any claim to any portion of this money. After the death of Ramkanta Roy Rammohun and Jagomohun did not purchase any estate out of joint funds. Rammohun had purchased out of his own funds the Talooks of Kissenagore in Pergunnah Jahanabad, Beerloak in the same Pergunnah, and Langoolparah in the Pergunnah of Bagrah, and Jagomohun had no interest in them. The Talook of Serampore was purchased from Ramdhone Chattarjee by Jagannath Majumdar in his own name with the money of Rammohun Roy. Jagomohun and Rammohun had no common interests in any lands, Talooks or premises except in the house at Langoolparah, which was allotted to them by the deed of partition. Jagomohun Roy had his property exclusively to himself and he sold certain lands without the consent or concurrence of Rammohun. On the death of Jagomohun Roy Rammohun did not directly or indirectly possess himself of any ready money, or public securities of the Government of Bengal or of any securities of individuals or of any jewels or gold or silver ornaments or of any plate or household furniture or of any other effects of any kind which were of Jagomohun Roy in his life time or at any time of his death.

Rammohun Roy denied that he purchased any house in Calcutta with the joint fund of himself and Govindaprasad Roy. But he purchased on his own account a house at Chowringhee in the year 1814 with Rs. 20,317 from one Elizabeth Fenwick, and another at Simla from Francis Mendes for the price of Rs. 13,000. Jagomohun Roy had no joint right with Rammohun Roy. He did not apply to him for any account or ask for a partition, of his property except in the Bill of Complaint lodged before the Supreme Court. Rammohun's statements were corroborated by witnesses cited by Jagomohun himself. So the Court adjudicated in favour of Rammohun.

In giving the decree the judges said: "Whereas after the filing of the said answer and issue joined thereon and examination of witnesses had and publication passed and upon reading a subpeona to hear judgment which issued on the sixth day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and nineteen and the affidavit of Gorachand Das sworn this twentyfifth day of October last of the due service thereof and upon reading an office copy of an order of this Court made in this cause on the twentieth day of July last passed and upon hearing what was alledged by the advocates for the defendant this Court doth think fit to adjudge order and decree that the said Bill of Complaint in this cause do stand absolutely dismissed out of and from this court with costs." The judgment was delivered on the 10th December, 1819 by the Chief Justice Sir Edward Hyde in conjunction with Justices Macnaghten and Buller.

The records of the case definitely prove that Rammohun made his own fortune and did not depend upon any subvention by his father in carrying on his worldly business.

One more important fact is proved from the records. Govindaprosad was instigated by Rammohun's mother to institute the case on account of his religious views. Govindaprosad was reinstated in his uncle's favour and was appointed to a job at Burdwan with the help of Rammohun. In the Interrogatory submitted to the Court for the examination of Tarinee Devi we come across the following question: "Have you not had serious disputes and differences with your son the Defendant Rammohun Roy on account of his religious opinions and have you not instigated or prevailed on your grandson the Complainant to institute the present suit against the said Defendant as a measure of revenge because the said Defendant had refused to practise the rites and ceremonies of the Hindoo religion in the manner in which you wish the same to be practised or performed? Have not you and the Complainant and the other members of your family estranged yourself and themselves from all intercourse with the Defendant on account of his religious opinions and writings? Have you not repeatedly declared that you desired the ruin of the Defendant and that there will not only be no sin but that it will be meritorious to effect the temporal ruin of the Defendant provided he shall not resume or follow the religious usages and worship of his forefathers ? Have you not publicly declared that it will not be sinful to take away the life of a Hindoo who forsakes the idolatory and ceremonies of worship usually practised by persons of that religion ? Has not the Defendant in fact refused to practise the rites and ceremonies of the Hindoo religion in respect to the worship of the idols ? Have not you and the Complainant and others of the Defendant's relations had several meetings and conversations on this subject and declare solemnly on your oath, whether you do not know and believe that the present suit would not have been instituted if the Defendant had not acted in religious matters contrary to your wishes and entreaties and differently from the practices of his ancestors ? Do you not in your conscience believe that you will be justified in giving false testimony and in doing everything in your power to effect the ruin of the Defendant and to enable the Complainant to succeed in the present suit in as much as the Defendant has refused to continue the worship of the Idols ? Did you not, since the commencement of the suit make a personal application to the Defendant at his house in Simlah in Calcutta for the grant of a piece of land that the profits thereof might be applied towards the worship of an idol; and did not the Defendant offer you a large sum of money to be distributed in charity to the poor but refuse to contribute in any manner to the encouragement of the worship of the idols ? Were you not on that occasion exceedingly displeased with the Defendant and did you not then express your displeasure and threaten the Defendant for having refused to comply with your request ?"

We also gather from the cross-interrogatories that Tarinee Devi instigated Goculchandra Bose, Nabakishore Roy and several other persons to give false evidence against Rammohun Roy. The case was instituted against him on account of his religious views.

THE RELIGION OF ANCIENT EGYPT: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

BY SUSILKUMAR MAITRA, M.A., P.R.S., PH.D.
Lecturer in Philosophy, Calcutta University.

CLASSIFICATIONS of religion into naturalistic and humanistic, or into tribal and universal, or again into monotheistic and polytheistic are not likely to be true except in a broad general way. A religion which is only naturalistic in its earlier phases may grow later into a distinctly humanistic type just as contrarywise a predominantly naturalistic religion may also develop humanistic tendencies. In the same way what is polytheism in the beginning may later show an approach to monotheism, just as what is decidedly monotheistic may later develop pluralistic-polytheistic tendencies. Take, for example, the modern conception of the suffering God frustrated by an independent principle of evil. Here we see monotheism giving way to pluralism and confessing to its failure as a satisfactory religion. Take, again, Hellenistic polytheism and its hierarchy of the gods and goddesses. It is evidently an approach to monotheism through the conception of a fixed order of rank among the deities.

The Egyptian religion also shows the same transition from one form to another and the same intermixture of different elements. We are told that the Egyptian religion is tribal, naturalistic and polytheistic. But none of these epithets describe the Egyptian religion truly. As a matter of fact, the religion of Egypt is neither purely tribal, nor purely naturalistic nor out-and-out polytheistic. It is, no doubt, emphatically naturalistic at the beginning. But this is true only of its earlier phases. In its later developments it ceases to be purely naturalistic and becomes also to some extent humanistic. In Amenophis IV, in fact, it rises to universal humanism. It may be useful to illustrate this point in some detail. Take, for example, the Egyptian moon-god, Thoth. He is "the Ibis-headed representative of Re" (the sun-god) by night and so far is nothing but a nature-deity. But he is also "the scribe of the gods" and "the judge in heaven who gave speech and writing and by his arithmetic enabled gods and men to keep account of their possessions." He is besides " the god of wisdom and learning " and the discoverer of "the written characters (the divine words)." He is thus not merely the moon that does duty for the sun by night, but the embodiment of many human functions and powers. Take again the goddess, Hathor—" the House of Horns," " the abode of the sun-god." We are told that *Nut* that had hardly any share in the Egyptian religion except as the sky-goddess and as wife of the earth-god, Keb was extremely popular however in her other name of Hathor. Thus as Hathor she was " the goddess of the heavens " and very early became " the chief of the goddesses " and as such " the divine representative of women who worshipped her before all others." She thus came to be regarded as the " brilliant goddess of love and pleasure " and developed distinctly humanistic traits besides her natural function of a mere abode of the sun-god. Other aspects may have grown out of her character as sky-goddess. She is called, for example, " the eye of Re " (the sun-god) and appears also as " the goddess of the west " and as receiving the setting sun and the dead. But the human functions also persist along with these later accretions and so once more in Hathor we have a nature-deity combining human with natural functions. The same combination of mixed characters appears also in the usual representations of Hathor. For example, the figure of a cow in which she is at first represented is subsequently replaced by a distinctly human form, a kindly woman's face being substituted for the earlier animal representations, the ears of a cow alone surviving in the later forms but on a head covered by thick plaits of hair. Or else she is represented as an ordinary woman's head with a head-dress suggestive of the ancient celestial cow, *i.e.*, with two horns between which appears the sun. But while in Hathor we have a blend of naturalistic and humanistic traits, in another goddess called Maat, we have no trace of an origin in any of the recognised phenomena of nature. Thus Maat is regarded as " goddess of truth " and as such is conceived to be " wife of the divine judge Thoth and daughter of the supreme god Re " and her priests are the supreme judges. But though related to natural phenomena (the moon and the sun) as wife and daughter, she herself represents no natural phenomena and stands only for the human value of truth as its divine representative or embodiment. Maat, the goddess of truth, is thus not merely a human invention but also represents only human functions. And the same remarks also apply to "the divine sculptor" Ptah who is another of the Egyptian deities worshipped in the temple at Hat-ke-ptah. Ptah is the patron-god of artists and artisans (corresponding to the Visvakarmā of Hindu mythology) and is supposed to give "form to all things." Here also we have neither a naturalistic origin nor a representation of nature-phenomena but only of preperly human functions. Isis, the wife of Osiris, who is regarded as the goddess of magic and magical art, similarly illustrates the humanistic side to the Egyptian nature-worship.

What emerges from the foregoing illustrations is that many of the Egyptian deities are at once naturalistic and humanistic being gods of some aspects of nature and also of aspects of human soial life and function. They stand in marked contrast in this respect not merely to the early Vedic gods who are predominantly naturalistic but also to the Greek gods generally who are predominantly humanistic. In another respect also the Egyptian gods present a striking contrast both to the Hindu and the Greek gods, *viz.*, in regard to their composite animal human forms which are a distinguishing feature of almost every representation of an Egyptian deity. A composite form is repugnant to the rationalistic Greek whose gods are thus usually presented in full human form without any surviving trait of its earlier animal or physical origin. The same holds partly at least of the Hindu gods and goddesses who are rarely presented in composite form. It is otherwise however with the Egyptian deities where a composite human-animal form is the rule and a complete human form the exception. Let us illustrate this in detail. Take the case of the representation of the sun-god which is the principal of the Egyptian deities. The most general name for the sun-god is Re, but he is also called Horus, Har-Akhte, Khepre, Atum, etc. There are various representations of the sun-god, some in purely animal forms and some in composite forms, partly animal and partly human. Horus, *e.g.*, is represented sometimes as a bird of prey with blazing eyes and sometimes as a human body with the bird of prey as the head. Atum, again, as the evening sun is represented as an old man, Khepre as a beetle with its eye standing for the sun, etc. But the usual representation of the sun-god is in composite human-animal form, *i.e.*, as a human body with the head of a sparrow-hawk surmounted by the sun and encircled by the fire-spitting serpent that destroys the sun's enemies. The moon-god, Thoth, worshipped also under the name of Khonsu at

Thebes, is similarly represented in composite form as the "Ibis-headed representative of the sun" by night. In Hathor, again, in her later representations, we have the composite form of a woman's face with the ears of a cow, while in Bast, the goddess of dancing and music we have the head of a cat on a woman's body. Another of the Egyptian goddess, Sekhmet, is lion-headed. She is the goddess of war and as such the mighty one. Anubis, the ancient god of the dead, has the head of a jackal and so also have the two gods Wepwawet called the guides (probably because of the close association of jackals with burials in the desert). Osiris however is an exception to the general rule. He is the chief of the gods of the dead and is represented in human form as a mummy with crown, sceptre and whip as symbols of his rank as king.

One thing clearly emerges from the above illustrations, *viz.*, that the differentiation of man from animal which is a distinguishing character of advanced religions is conspicuous by absence in the Egyptian mythology. In this respect Egypt certainly stands below both Hinduism and Hellenism being nearer the primary stage. Take, *e.g.*, the Hindu representations of the gods. Here animals no doubt figure as parts of the whole, but they seldom form a part of the deity itself being usually given subordinate functions as faithful followers or carriers of the deity. There are no doubt some exceptions, particularly in the incarnations, which are sometimes presented in purely animal forms and sometimes again in composite forms. But these exceptions only make the general rule more obvious and the contrast with the Egyptian forms more striking. And the same remarks also apply to the Greek representations where every vestige of a grotesque composite form is rigorously excluded in conformity with its inherent rationalism.

The comparative backwardness of the Egyptian civilization also shows itself in its local and particularistic tendencies. Thus different localities worshipped different gods and sometimes the same god in different names with a local pluralism which was subversive of religious unity. Hence inspite of a general agreement as regards the objects of worship, there was no unity of attachment and no consciousness of a common religion. It will thus be not altogether wrong to say that early Egyptian religion did not rise very far above the tribal stage. But it would be wrong to say that it was nothing but blind pluralism and that there was no attempt at unification and ordering. As a matter of fact, there was some classification of the gods into major and minor and thus some sort of ordering by gradation into higher and lower. The order was certainly not the same for all localities, different localities recognising different orders and gradations and thus accepting different modes of synthesis. But some order there was for every locality and thus some kind of unity of the bewildering variety. Thus Osiris was the chief of the gods of the dead, Hathor the chief of the goddesses, Amon the king of the gods of Thebes and the Sun-god the highest of the gods and the sole creator.

A writer on Egyptian religion opines that the Egyptians excelled every other nation in their care for the dead, such graves as the Egyptian Pyramids or the rock-tombs of Thebes being without their parallel in the histories of nations. The remark however applies more to Pyramid-building than to the care for the dead, for the ghost-worship of some of the primitive peoples and the ancestor-worship of more civilized peoples do not suffer by comparison with that of the Egyptians in this respect. We have no doubt many Egyptian myths of the under-world, of the fate of the soul after death and of its journey through the heaven and the stars, but this is no special feature of the Egyptian religion only. Worship of Osiris as the god of the dead is certainly an important feature of the Egyptian religion, but it is neither the all-important nor the universal feature of it. If anything may be called the most characteristic and universal feature of the Egyptian religion it is the worship of the Sun-god. The worship of the Sun takes different forms corresponding to the changing relations of the sun to the earth in its diurnal journey through the sky. Thus we have the worship of the morning, the noon-day and the evening sun with corresponding differences in its representations in human and animal forms. The progress of the sun is conceived as the victorious march of the sun against the terrible Apophis who is the power of evil and opposes the sun's journey. The fight which issues in victory for the sun is not the same as the difference between the gods of the upper world and the under-world. It is the fight between good and evil and not a mere difference between an "upper" and an "under." The sun is a "*great* god" and the creator and ruler of other gods and the earthly king who is "the *good* god" and as such is not worshipped in temples is supposed to become "the great god" after death. In later days the king is compared to the sun-god on earth, his palace being the *horizon*, he being represented as *arising* when he shows himself and *setting* when he dies.

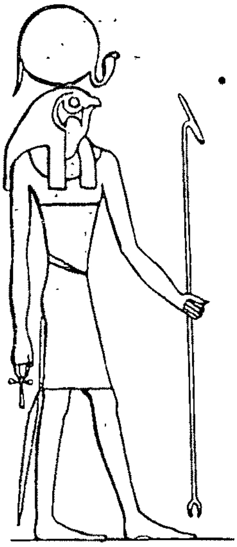
We shall now conclude with a brief reference to some of the other important features of the Egyptian religion.

One of these is the Osiris-Isis-Horus myth. Here we have the beginning of the conception of a triune god. The Egyptian triplicity marks a distinct advance from naturalistic culture representing as it does the conditions of human dynastic continuity through father—mother—and son. The dead Oriris comes to life again in his son Horus to avenge his murder or his brother Set. The Hindu Trinity, Brahma-Vishnu-Shiva, furnishes a clear contrast to the Egyptian triplicity in this respect. There is no reference in the Hindu conception to human relations representing as it does the metaphysical attributes of creation, maintenance and dissolution.

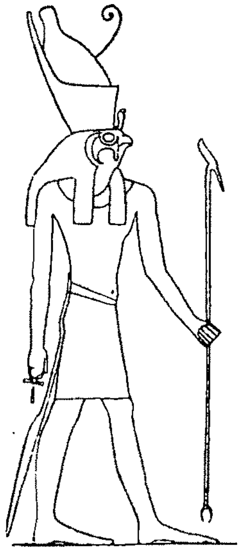
Another peculiarity of the Egyptian religion is that its gods are conceived on the analogy of human beings. Thus unlike the Greek gods, the Egyptian gods are mortals like men, and are subject to growth, decay and death. They have further to be fed like men, and sustained by means of food and drink. They are besides subject to magical forces and may be magically coerced by the magician's art.

The Egyptian priestly class constitutes another notable feature of the Egyptian religion. Originally a king who built a temple was regarded as the son of the god and therefore his chief priest. But this was soon found impracticable as a king who built many temples could not do the priestly office for all. Thus arose the practice of appointing priests as the king's delegates. Though the priests were at first chosen from the more important families, they soon came to be connected with certain professions as specially qualifying them for the worship of certain deities. Thus the priests of Ptah were chosen from artists, of Maat from the judiciary, of Sekhmet from physicians, etc. Originally the priestly and the secular duty devolved on different persons, but later they were combined in the same functionary. For example, the Teti-Sabu (priest) who worshipped Ptah (the divine office) was also the superintendent of architecture (the secular duty).

We have already referred to the particularism of early Egyptian religion. Particularism however marks the early phase only. In the historical period through political unification the earlier particularism gave place to a more uniform mode of worship. The so-called religious reform of Amenophies IV, for example, was towards a more universal and uniform worship of the sun-god suitable for a great empire of the old world. The attempted religious unity was thus in the interest of a larger empire consisting of heterogeneous peoples. Amenophis IV gave it the name of Ekh-en-Aton and hoped through it to check the disruptive tendencies of the earlier sun-worship under multifarious names and forms. The attempt no doubt proved a failure, for immediately after Amenophis there was a reversion to the older particularism. None the less it remains the first serious attempt at a universal religion that is to appeal to all peoples and all countries. The Egyptian experiment in this respect will certainly bear comparison with some of the later attempts in the same direction. Marcus Aurelius only theorised on its possibility as a visionary and Akbar thought of it as part of the parapharnalia of his sovereignty. But Akbar's dream never materialised nor did the vision of Marcus Aurelius. It was Amenophis IV, and after him Asoka the Great, who not merely theorised on but actually founded universal religions. It remains true however that while the universal religion founded by Amenophis did not last beyond his lifetime, that founded by Asoka moulded history and influenced the lives of nations.



THE SUN GOD



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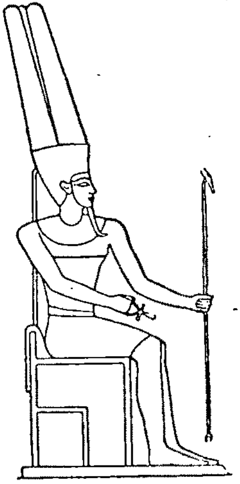

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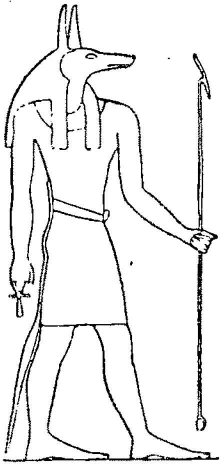

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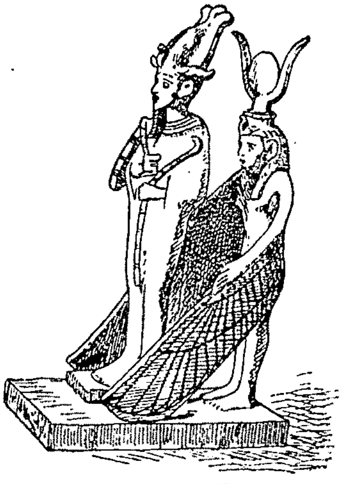
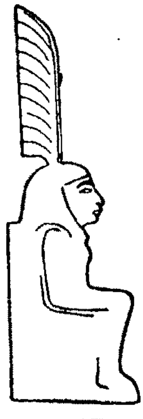


ISIS AND OSIRIS



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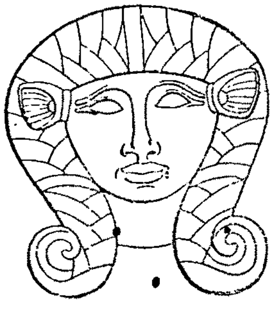

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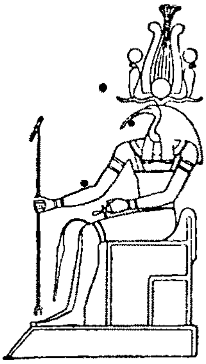

THOTH

ETHICAL ACTION AND ITS FRUIT

BRIJ LAL SHARMA

IT is generally known that every action is followed by its fruit. It is forgotten that every action is also *accompanied* by its fruit.

The consequences of human actions are worked out in two different worlds; the objective and the subjective, in the sphere of time, space and cause, and in the internal region of thought, feeling and will. In the first case, the doer becomes recipient of social reactions to his action ; in the latter case, the change is registered in his personality. An act to be moral must have an external result and an internal intent —external result, because ethics has meaning only in a crowd, in a system of human relationships, where multifold interests arise and have to be admitted and reconciled ; internal intent, because without it the act would be indistinguishable from natural action, responsibility being impossible without freedom.

In the objective world the consequences are *successive.* They follow the deed, which must take time to unfold. Society is a complex network of rights and duties, and any interference with it, at any point, must pulsate through the entire structure, slowly but unavoidably, down the length of time. When a man plays ducks and drakes with public money, is cruel, selfish and uncharitable, his action bears fruit in others' life for many months and years. Men and women suffer at his hands. Some of the consequences may not be exhausted even in hundreds of years. " A deed once done, belongs to reality and can never be undone.........Its effects extend to ever-wider circles, it propagates itself after its own kind. When it is once woven into existence, it lives on, it never dies out—even if the beat of the waves which proceeds from it grows weaker and is cancelled in the greater stream of the world's course—it is immortal as all reality is." [1] A major part of our difficulties today, political, social or moral, throughout the world, has been bequeathed to us by past generations. Since society is organic and we are members of one another, the sins of fathers are visited on the heads of their children, and posterity will reap the harvest of the dragon's teeth which we are sowing today as surely as we are being convulsed by the evil deeds of our ancestors.

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[1] Hartmann, Ethics, Vol. i, p. 28, E. T. Stanton Coit.

The fruition of ethical action in the external world may be helped or hindered by several factors, one of which is the constitution of society in which the action is performed. Corruption and tyranny may continue for years before they are exposed and startle the State. The effects go on accumulating, smouldering under the surface, blocked by restrictions of all sorts, until the opposition is overcome and the checked forces are released with a violence in a French or Russian revolution, or if it is an individual in many acts of hate and vengeance, rancour and ill-will. The social structure may be such as to help evil and hinder good, or help one of the two, or resist the operation of good but preserve it once it has operated, or provide it with facilities of flowering without those of fruition ; and depends upon historical causes as well as moral, educational, political, social and economic achievements of a people. Other factors are place, occasion and quality of the act. An act done in a remote, outlying, sparsely populated place may have its effects retarded, while one done in a town or a metropolis, where relations are closer and manifold, may produce its effects without much delay and be of far-reaching significance. Similarly moral acts have their occasions. An act done on one occasion may achieve more than the same act done on another occasion. Circumstances may enrich or ruin the soil from which an act is to bring forth fruit. There are times when people are more responsive and alive. One such period, for instance, was the sixth century before Christian era when Buddha, Confucius and Socrates found the people ready for ethical training in their respective part of the world, and a wave of moral consciousness swept over the masses. Finally the quality of a moral act must be taken into consideration. A great act of love, self-sacrifice, trust or friendship immediately claims our heart and mind. Noble deeds are not ignored for long. Heroes have found a permanent place in the memory of mankind.

Whether slowed or hastened, restricted or spread over a large area, the point to note is that these effects are successive, for they consist in the reactions of people to an act, in its influence on their fortunes, happiness and welfare, and are revealed only in the course of time.

2

In the subjective world things are different. There consequences are not successive but *immediate*. The result does not follow the deed but accompanies it, and cause and effect are coexistent. We are what we behold. The very appearance of a good idea, motive or feeling, is its own reward, the very appearance of an evil one its own punishment. The mind does not merely contemplate, it does what it contemplates, since contemplation is doing. The thinker is the actor because he is thinking which is an act. To entertain an idea is subjectively to live up to it that very moment. There is no waiting here, the reward or punishment is immediate. We become what we think and feel.

Unlike successive effects in the social world there is nothing in the individual world to help or hinder the immediacy of the fruit. Because the effects in the former are successive, their succession can be slowed or retarded, but immediacy allows of no degrees, and cannot therefore be rushed or checked.

This view of immediacy needs certain qualifications. Every idea, feeling or urge that appears in the mind is closely related to the history of the mind. While, therefore, its appearance immediately colours the mind, this appearance itself is a result of the constitution of the mind. Just as the actions of past generations make present-day society what it is, even so our own mind largely is what we have put into it in the past. Considered thus the idea or the consciousness of a value which modifies the mind is successive. Similarly objective consequences are not wholly successive. No sooner a good or an evil deed is done by an individual than the society is affected inasmuch as the individual is part of society. A noble heart immediately, to the extent of itself, ennobles society.

Subjective consequences of a moral act may be successive in another way. Regret, remorse, sorrow (or their opposites as the case may be) may follow an action. As reflection plays over what has been done, as its probable effects are pictured and its ramifications traced from their source to their end, the mind may become a theatre of a swiftly-moving pageant of complex mental states, each with its own idea, emotion and attitude. All these are consequences of the action done. There is, however, a difference. These consequences are thrown into sharp relief by thought, which does so by objectifying them. But for the intervention of reason, they would not be successive. We perceive them *as if* they were actually taking place in the external world. The sense of guilt and accountability clearly shows that there was no necessity about our action, that we could have acted differently, if we had chosen to, that we failed to exercise our prerogative of freedom and were rushed and hurried into something which we ought not to have done. In impulse only a part of the mind is expressed, a part which has for a moment invaded the rest of the mind in its blind search of satisfaction. When satisfaction is obtained, the impulse loses its force and the suppressed parts recover their activity, thus producing a contrast between what has been done and what ought to have been done. The mind is being judged by itself. Although even here the impulse and its satisfaction only express the character of the mind—the mind as at this moment it is, and therefore in a sense co-existent with it—they are, strictly speaking, successive.

3

If the analysis presented above is correct certain traditional views must be drastically revised. When it is said, for instance, As we sow so we shall reap, it is meant to convey that come what may we are in the nature of things bound to reap the fruit of our actions, if not in this at least in the next life. The proverb not only flies in the face of reality, it being a common experience that rogues and rascals thrive while moral heroes spend their life between starvation and persecution, but is also opposed to the analysis we have made of the result of ethical actions. The error lies partly in the use of the word " shall " and partly in that of the word " reap." It would be truer to say, As we sow, so we reap, for the reward, subjectively speaking, which alone is the true moral standpoint, is immediate. In the end everything depends upon what we mean by " reap." Future reference is relevant to external rewards and punishment measured in terms of goods and situations, namely, fame and honour, although even here the word "shall" is misleading, since there is no guarantee that the reward or punishment shall be given, or if given, shall be received, for the recipient may be no more or may be unascertainable. External authorities move slow and move clumsily. The wheels of God grind small but more often than not unjustly, though in the inner world the result is terribly swift and appropriate. Because not all our actions are rewarded in this life, was it felt necessary to believe that they must be rewarded in some other life, for if left unrewarded they would it was thought, create a moral crisis. But strange to say there is no crisis. The individual is rewarded in the only sense in which he ought to be rewarded *i.e.* in the inner world. Nor are the actions left suspended in the air, cut off from the chain of causation, temporarily made fruitless, until some such time as the individual is deemed fit to receive the consequences thereof. These consequences spread out into the world like waves on the sea when a stone is dropped into it. The law of cause and effect is never suspended. The re-assuring assumption that the good shall be raised and the wicked reproved is of limited truth in so far as the ethical fruit consists of external social results. According to true morality social consequences, because they are successive and not immediate, are in importance secondary to the inward immediacy of the result of a moral action. They must be considered, for individual life is possible only in society, but only after the immediacy of fruit has been evaluated.

The individual's obligation to society assumes new shape and significance under this view. The revised proverb, As you sow, so you may not but others may reap, brings out the great responsibility which attaches to moral acts. Although such a view may encourage the morally weak, its true appreciation is more likely to act as a tonic on the relatively stable-minded. The feeling that one's vices may be applauded and virtues condemned, that one may be rewarded for what one has not done and escape punishment for what one has, must alter one's whole attitude to the problem of ethical action and its result. To calculating prudence it is a warning that its calculations may be miles out. It gives poise and balance to the mind by inclining it to expect consequences within the heart and to take them as they come in society. In the world without one's actions may be appraised rightly or not, but in the world within rewards are secure. As you sow, so you shall reap, is true of the subjective region of man, and true absolutely, without qualification, but in the outer region of social relationships it gives false confidence, blinds faith, and often brings disillusionment and bitterness. This is not to say that the proverb has no application to ethical results considered as goods and situations. Only its application is uncertain and subject to unforeseeable perversions.

4

The immediate consciousness of ethical fruit has an important bearing on the ethical argument for life after death. The argument, as we have already referred to it, is that life is too short and uncertain to guarantee rewards for actions performed. Life therefore needs to stretch beyond the grave. Hindu thinkers and Plato believe that life is subject to transmigration or re-birth. In Jewish, Christian and Mohammedan ethics the dead will be raised on the day of judgment to stand trial for the deeds they have done and to receive rewards thereof. Ethical laws, we are told, are as rigorous and immutable as physical laws. All these theories would have us reap the harvest of our past actions on the analogy of the theory of cause and effect which rule the universe. But man is not simply a conglomeration of causes and effects, antecedents and consequents, although there are aspects of him to which they are relevant. The real reward and punishment are immediate. What is successive is merely their translation in terms of objective factors, namely, social relations. When in defiance of reason, scorning consequences, I deliberately do something whose results are sure to be reprehensible, I have that very moment put the light out in my soul. The subsequent punishment, however severe and exacting, cannot make the darkness any darker. The punishment itself is physical and imposed as it is from without, is nothing compared with the self-imposed punishment of spiritual suicide. It is an attempt at self-extinction, a betrayal of my inmost nature.

We have said that personal consequences are immediate, social consequences successive. Re-birth or extension of life after death is meaningless as regards the first, for the results have been enjoyed, and is equally meaningless as regards the second, since they are social and have already passed beyond the individual. The ethical argument for life after death by confusing ethics and law is based on considerations of revenge and vindictiveness. Our legal courts believe in an eye for an eye, in a tooth for a tooth. Law rights a wrong by committing another wrong, and justice is done by pitting violence against violence. A murderer who deprives society of a life is deprived of his own life by society. But ethics is more than a system of laws. Although at times it coincides with law, as in Thou shalt not steal, its real tendency is to deviate from it. It rights a wrong by conferring more rights. Justice is negative, brings about surface union among men, and leaves the deeper reality, the hearts, untouched. Individuals, for justice, are external to one another, needing protection. Love goes to the root of the matter, penetrates through all barriers and fuses lives into a unity. Justice claims rights, love offers service. The one keeps under check the impulse to violate rights, but keeps the impulse alive nonetheless, the other cuts the ground from under it. To put ethics in the straight jacket of law therefore will not do. Ethics has no external tribunal to judge it; ethical consciousness itself is the tribunal.

But a doubt presents itself. A moral act has certain accompaniments, responsibility, accountability, the sense of guilt and self-determination. None of these is possible without the consciousness of the act. An insane man is not hanged for the murder he has committed, since he is not conscious of what he has done. A claim to have received reward or punishment is founded on the awareness of the individual as regards the significance of the one or the other as the case may be. You cannot say that you have rewarded a man when the man himself knows nothing about the reward. For reward and punishment are given to make him realize the value of the act which has called them forth, and this realization is impossible without self-consciousness, without the knowledge of the peculiar relation in which the fruit stands to him and to some past act of his of which he is conscious. Are we conscious of the immediacy of subjective consequences, and if so, are we so invariably? This is the crux of the problem. Now there is no doubt that there are men and women who are conscious of the immediacy of ethical fruit, of elevation or degradation accompanying an act, of the delight or torture of the mind as it struggles through a deed. But such a level of ethical and mental training is not common, although the mood is experienced, at some time or other, by almost everyone. The mind must be in a state of illumination and keen sensibility to feel and appreciate subjective effects of a moral act, and few among men can do this. Yet the reward and the punishment are there, for they are registered in the personality. Hence a difficult problem. How can he who is not conscious of the immediacy of ethical fruit be said to be its recipient? At best he is an unconscious recipient and his acceptance of reward raises no moral problem. The account we have given of the immediacy of ethical fruit is objective, for the man himself is not aware of the subjective consequences and cannot therefore be rewarded or punished. This makes the problem of life after death complicated. Those who are conscious of the immediacy of ethical fruit cannot *ex hypothesi* be supposed to live after death for they have had their rewards and punishments. On the other hand, those who are not conscious of the immediacy must evidently have their life prolonged. This prolongation of life must obviously be determined by the number of acts in which the immediacy was not felt.

What about cases in which the ethical fruit is appreciated not immediately but ultimately, in the sense that the immediacy of the ethical fruit is recognised not while the act is being performed but some time after it ? Can a person be said to be rewarded or punished if, although at the time of reward or punishment he is not conscious of it, he admits having been treated so afterwards. A soldier who is serving on the front is awarded a distinction of which as yet he is unconscious. When is he awarded ?—at the time when the distinction is given or at the time when he comes to know of the distinction ? The answer here is not very difficult to give. It will be said that he is awarded at the time when the distinction is officially conferred upon him and that his consciousness of the award is a secondary matter, for even if he is killed without knowing anything about it, he would still be regarded as having been rewarded. And yet there is all the difference between a man who knows he has been awarded and a man who dies without knowing it.

Judgment is self-awarded or administered from without. In the first case, as it is dependent upon the individual, it does not necessitate a God who sits in judgment upon acts or a subject who lives after death to appear before Him. Here ethical argument does not demand life after death. In the latter case judgment is given when it is administered by some external authority whether it is recognised by the recipient or not. Obviously a man cannot be punished twice, once in the ordinary course of justice and once on realizing that he has been judged. An external authority, a court of social approval and disapproval, can only judge a person once, whether he has the sense to appreciate its significance or not. In this case too, therefore, as a person is immediately conscious of a past judgment, there is hardly any need to repeat the process in life after death, and life need not be prolonged for a ceremony which has already been performed.

So far we have come to the following conclusions. Persons who are immediately aware of ethical fruit in all ethical acts do not need to live beyond the grave to answer charges before an omnipotent God, for they are already judged. Those who become aware of the immediacy some time after the action is performed are also exempt from appearing in God's court, for they too have already been judged, and they know it. There remain acts the fruits of which are neither immediately nor ultimately (*i.e.*, in this life) recognised by a person, who therefore must be made to realize them in the next life. Before such a conclusion is accepted it is pertinent to ask, Is the consciousness of the immediacy of ethical fruit ever interrupted, and if so why? To be moral an act must be intended, must have a conscious motive behind it. The subject must know why he is performing a particular act before the act can be regarded as ethical. Now the knowledge of motive implies the knowledge of the immediacy of ethical fruit. We are thus driven to the conclusion that in every moral act a person is conscious of the immediacy of the fruit of his act, for unless he were so, his act would not be intended, which would lift his act out of the sphere of morality. Is then the distinction which we have made between persons who are aware of the immediacy of fruit and persons who are not, false ? No. Although both the classes are conscious of the immediacy, there is a difference between the two consciousnesses. The difference is not of kind but one of degree. The awareness is there, but in one case it is and in the other case it is not illumined by reflection. The ethical consciousness of an average man is non-relational, unanalysed, confused and obscure, while the consciousness of a saint is analysed, synthesised and relational. The first is undiscriminated the latter discriminated consciousness. It will be asked what is this discrimination due to ? The reply is, to the higher moral development of the saint, but unless such a development is regarded as beyond the control of man, the reply must be that it is due to constant vigil, alert thought. Those who are keen, responsive, critical and detached ever discover new wealth in their actions, while those who are not are comparable to a man who owns rich mineral deposits without knowing that he does so. This ignorance or obtuseness of ethical sense is remediable. At first there seems a vicious circle, for sensitive moral sense presupposes the consciousness of moral value which in turn presupposes a keen moral sense. There is some truth in the contention, but the circle is apparent, since in the ethical sphere as in any other a start can be made, and the mind and heart which react to vivid tones of moral acts, can be made to respond to unobstrusive shades of moral values.

The whole discussion then boils down to this: All men are immediately rewarded or punished for their moral acts and all are conscious of this immediacy which varies from person to person, its clearness and intensity being dependent upon a detached clear mind as well as a delicate responsive ethical sense. Those who are not vividly conscious of this immediacy have themselves to blame ; their ignorance and hardness of heart are of their own creation, for they could overcome both if they so desired. Life might be needed after death if some or all of our acts remained unjudged in this life, but since, as we have found in this discussion, this is not the case, the ethical argument for life after death loses its force. This does not mean, of course, that man does not live after death. He may or may not. Only the ethical argument does not help us in the matter.

THE JURISTIC CONCEPTION OF DOMINION STATUS

D. C. GUPTA, M.A.. B.L.,
Barrister-at-Law.

BESIDES the abolition of oath and the right of appeal to the Judicial Committee, de Valera abolished by Amendment No. 21. the right of the Crown's representative to withhold or reserve consent to Bills. The fate of Mr. McNeill, the former Governor-General of the Irish Free State, who was virtually forced to resign by the de Valera Government, and the innocous position to which that dignified office has been brought down, has made the office of the Governor-General an "excresence" in the Irish Free State. Indeed, the Irish contention was that "the continued existence of the Governor-General's legal powers in regard to Bills was anomalous and out of harmony with the existing constitutional position." The real significance of these Acts is "that they clearly indicate an intention gradually to eliminate the Crown from the Constitution of the Irish Free State."

The recent Irish Citizenship and Nationality Bill raises the question of allegiance of the British subjects to the Crown in another form. The Irish President, in introducing the above Bill in the Dail declared that "No one in the country would be a British subject when the Bill becomes law."[1] The avowed object of de Valera is "to prevent the United Kingdom from defining the national and international status of an Irish Citizen."[2] Has this uncompromising attitude of the Irish President any legal justification? Professor Keith in a letter in the *Manchester Guardian* of 30th November 1934, trenchantly criticises the provisions of the Bill on the ground, *inter alia,* that it destroys the common status of the British subjects and tears the link that binds the different units of the Empire. It is common knowledge that de Valera has not a very responsive or warm heart when questions of Imperial concern, and of common bond—bondage to him—or of British Commonwealth are raised.

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[1] But *cf.* "There is no such thing as subject of a Dominion." per Lord Atkin, in Gibson *vs.* Gibson (1913) 3 K. B. 379.

[2] Dr. D. N. Sen, in the Calcutta Review, March 1935, "Nationality and Rights."

But from a strictly legal point of view, it is difficult to see why the Irish Free State should not have power to define her own nationality, not only for local but also for international purposes, when the Report of the Imperial Conference of 1930 and the Report on the Operation of Dominion Legislation of 1929 give the Dominions the power to define their nationals "within and without the commonwealth." Moreover, what about Sec. 3 of the Statute of Westminster? The Section reads: "It is hereby declared and enacted that the Parliament of the Dominion has full power to make laws having an extra-territorial operation." There is no reservation in the above Section to prohibit the Irish Free State from defining her nationals for international purposes and the Irish claim is strengthened, when we see that Sec. 2 of the Statute of Westminster declares that the Colonial Laws Validity Act 1865 will no longer be applicable with respect to any law passed by a Dominion Parliament. Now, if we legally accept the above view, the question of common status of all British subjects, based on common allegiance to the British Crown, pales into insignificance.

But is there really a common status of the British subjects of the Empire? Do all the subjects enjoy the same rights by virtue of their British Citizenship? From a study of the enactments of the last two decades by the Dominions, it is apparent even to the staunchest advocate of the unity of the Empire, that a Ceylonese British subject does not enjoy the same rights as an Australian British subject, and that equality in status and rights between a citizen of South Africa and a citizen of Gibraltar due to the common factor of the British Citizenship is a highly improbable, if not an impossible theme, and is perhaps under the present circumstances, outside the scope of practical politics. We have the authority of no less a person than General Smuts, in support of the above observation: "There is no equality of British Citizenship throughout the Empire. On the contrary, there is every imaginable difference—British Citizenship has been variable in the past; it is bound to be even more in the future...the composition and character of rights of its people will be the concern of each free and equal State of the Empire."[1] Thus, the Dominions can regulate their rights of citizenship by their own laws and they may contend that this power of discrimination between their own citizens and citizens of other parts of the Empire, is the criterion of their autonomy. So, what the Irish Free State purports to do by the Irish Citizenship Bill in defining an Irish national, both for national and international purposes, it is submitted, may be legally done by her, at least by virtue of Sections 2 and 3 of the Statute of Westminster.

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[1] Quoted by Dr. D. N. Sen in 'Nationality and Rights,' Calcutta Review, March, 1935. The writer is indebted to Dr. Sen's article for discussions on the question of Irish Nationality.

But so long we were discussing the question from the point of view of the British Constitutional Law. There is the other side of the shield. What will be the legal consequence in International Law if war be declared tomorrow by Italy against England—a possibility which, we all detest to think about,—and one Mr. Murphy, an Irish man, finds himself interned in Rome by orders of the Duce? Can de Valera send a copy of the Irish Citizenship Bill when passed by the Dail claiming that the arrested Murphy is no longer a British subject but an Irish Citizen? It is difficult to foresee what attitude will be taken by the Italian Dictator, but he may very well say that the said Act is a piece of municipal legislation and that it does not bind any foreign State which is not bound to take notice of any internal arrangement between the different parts of another foreign State and so Murphy is liable to suffer the lot of all British subjects. If you accept this proposition, the power of a self-governing part of the Empire to define its nationals for international purpose is hardly of any practial value.

The lessons we derive from the history and provisions of the Irish Constitution are that the way to the attainment of Dominion Status by the British Colonies has not been uniform ; that agitation and pressure may offer what rigid constitutionalism refuses and that Dominion Status does not mean the same thing throughout the Empire.

But, if the Irish Constitution is a novel experiment in the art of constitution-making, the Statute of Westminster, 1931 [1] is no less important as the embodiment of hopes and aspirations of the Dominions, as expressed in the Imperial Conferences. But it must not be thought that the Statute is a revolutionary measure. It is the resultant of a long process of development. So, it is neither a unique event in the British constitutionol history, nor an isolated document. [2]

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[1] For a full discussion on the Statute of Westminster, 1931, see Wheare : The Statute of Westminster.

[2] Wheare : the Statute of Westminster.

The preamble of the Statute is frankly not dictatorial. It states that it is only at the request of the Dominions that the Parliament at Westminster passed the Statute, thus maintaining the long-established convention that the Imperial Parliament should not legislate for a Dominion without her consent. In the second paragraph of the preamble, it has been inserted that succession to the throne should not be altered by the Imperial Parliament without the collaboration and consent of the Dominions.

Coming to the text of Statute, we see that Sec. 2 (1) reads as follows! " The Colonial Laws Validity Act 1865 shall not apply to any law made after the commencement of this Act by the Parliament of a Dominion." It repeals the Colonial Laws Validity Act and the sovereignty of the Imperial Parliament is thereby limited in one direction, for a Dominion Parliament can now repeal an Imperial Act, sa far as it applies to the Dominion.

Sec. 3 does away with the fetters of territorial limitation and "the competence of a Dominion to legislate with extra-territorial effect," on such subjects as shipping, fishery, marriage and Criminal Law is acknowledged. As the result of Sections 2 and 3, the Dominions may now replace an Imperial Act by their own statutes, which will no longer be invalid on the ground of repugnancy to the Acts of the Imperial Parliament.

But it must not be thought that the Statute enables the Dominions to abolish all the restrictions on their legislative competence. Even some of the Dominions, *viz.*, Australia, New Zealand and Newfoundland do not want at present, to avail themselves of the powers conferred by Sections 2-6.[1]

Again, Canada which by Sec. 2 has been given power to amend an Imperial Act has her power of amendment of the British North America Act limited by Sec. 7 and, so the British Parliament is now the sole authority, as before, to effect any constitutional amendment of the Canadian Constitution. Thus, the powers of "reservation" and "disallowance" of the Governor-General of Canada, as provided in the British North America Act, cannot be abolished by the Canadian Parliament as irksome restrictions.

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[1] Commenting on the acceptance of powers, conferred by the Statute of Westminster by some of the Dominions including Canada, it was observed by a member of the Australian deligation, at the unofficial British Commonwealth Relations Conference, held in 1933 at Toronto that "the Statute of Weslminster is Canada's marriage lines. It is her certificate-of respectability in the eyes of the U. S. A., her backless evening grown, her rings and fur belows. Canada had to have herself proclaimed an honest woman to impress her neighbours. So all the rest of us have to have the Statute of Westminster......Australia never had any doubt about herself. She knew that she was a honest woman. But Canada felt sensitive; so we have all got the Statute of Westminster......No offence was taken or intended." International Affairs, Nov-Dec. 1933, page 706.

As regards the question of appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, another restriction on Dominion autonomy, the Dominion of Canada can now certainly abolish the right of appeal to the Privy Council. It is submitted that the Provincial Legislatures in Canada as well, can do so, for the right of appeal to the Privy Council from Canada does not rest upon the British North America Act but upon the Imperial Statutes of 1833 and 1844, etc. As regards the Irish Free State, she stands in this respect on the same footing as Canada for Art. 2 of the Treaty says, as stated above, that in the relation between Irish Free State and Great Britain, the law, custom and constitutional practice of Canada, in her relation with Great Britain should be followed. If the Statute of Westminster has granted Canada the power to abolish the right of appeal to the Judicial Committee, then it follows logically that the Irish Free State is also entitled to the same power, and "possesses it by virtue of this very Art. 2 of the Agreement which, before the passing of the Statute was held to imply the necessity of the appeal."

The whole question was discussed by the Judicial Committee in the recent cases, Moore and others *vs.* Attorney-General for the Irish Free State and others and the British Coal Corporation and others *vs.* King (1935) A. C. In the first, the validity of the Constitution (Amendment No. 22) Act 1933 which deleted from the Irish Constitution " the right of any person to petition His Majesty for special leave of appeal from the Superme Court to His Majesty-in-Council," was upheld. In delivering the decision of the Board, Lord Sankey held (*a*) that the Constitution of the Irish Free State was drafted and brought into force by an Imperial Act and not by the Irish Acts of the Dail; (*b*) that though "before the passing of the Statute of Westminster, it was not competent for the Irish Free State Parliament to pass an Act abrogating the Treaty because the Colonial Law Validity Act forbade a Dominion Legislature to pass a law repugnant to an Imperial Act, the effect of the Statute was to remove the fetter which lay upon the Irish Free State Legislature by reason of the Colonial Laws Validity Act. That Legislature could now pass Acts repugnant to an Imperial Act. In this case they had done so."

Mr. Wilfrid Greene, K. C. (now a Lord-Justice of Appeal) who appeared for the appellants brought a delicate point, nevertheless of superme importance, in the course or his argument,—the question of the King's prerogative. His Lordship pointed out that whatever might be the position of the said prerogative in common law "it was here in this particular enactment made matter of the Parliamentary legislation, so that the pregogative was *protanto* merged in the Statute and the Statute gave powers of amending and altering the statutory prerogative." Thus, this judgment decided that the Acts of the Irish Parliament abolishing the oath and appeal to the Judicial Committee from the Irish Superme Court are *intra vires* the Irish Legislature. In fact, not only the whole frame-work of the once much-heralded Anglo-Irish Treaty was shattered but all fetters on the Irish sovereignty were torn into pieces.

The question of appeal from Canada to the Judicial Committee was also discussed by the same Board in the British Coal Corporation Case. In an earlier case from Canada (Nadan *vs.* King 1926 A. C. 482), it was held by the Judicial Committee that the Dominion Parliament had no power to limit the right to grant special leave of appeal in criminal cases. The ground assigned *inter alia* was that such limitation or prohibition of appeal infringed the provisions of the Privy Council Acts of 1833 and 1844 and so, according to the Colonial Laws Validity Act, was invalid as being repugnant to the Imperial Statutes. Now, when the Statute of Westminster removed all restrictions of the Colonial Laws Validity Act, the impugned section in the earlier case was re-enacted by the Criminal Code Amendment Act of 1933 passed by the Dominion Parliament and the validity of this re-enacted section was challenged. Held by the Privy Council, after a full consideration of the provisions of the Statute of Westminster, the sovereignty of the Dominions and the prerogatives of the Crown, that the impugned section is *intra vires* the Dominion Legislature by virtue of Sec. 2 of the Statute of Westminster. Thus, what Canada was held legally incompetent to do in 1926, is now within her legal competence at the end of 1931. But there is still the right of appeal from Canada to the Judicial Committee in civil cases. It may not be very long when Canada will exercise her legal power in the matter of abolishing civil appeals to the Judicial Committee as well, as hinted by Justice Raney, and this step, it is argued, will avoid the possibility of conflict in substance and consequent complication between a decision of the Judicial Committee in a civil suit and a judgment of the Supreme Court of Canada in a criminal case on the same point.[1]

What is the present position of this supreme tribunal, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council ? What, of the link between the British Crown and the different parts of the Empire in the form of the King-in-Council ? That great jurist, judge and statesman, Viscount Haldane of Cloan, in his illuminating judgment in Hull *vs.* M'Kenna and others (1926, I. R. 402) on the occasion of hearing first appeals from the Irish Free State to the Judicial Committee observed: "The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council is not an English body in any exclusive sense. It is no more an English body than it is an Indian body, or a Canadian body, or a South African body, or, for the future an Irish Free State body......The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council is not a body strictly speaking with any location. The Sovereign is everywhere throughout the Empire in the contemplation of the law. He may as well sit in Dublin or at Ottawa or in South Africa, or in Australia, or in India as he may sit here, and it is only for convenience and because we have a court and because the members of the Privy Council are conveniently here that we do sit here." Now even if "the King's ubiquitous presence" in the Dominions,[2]—a legal fiction which has received many serious blows in recent years—is taken for granted, can we still argue, in view of the above decisions in the Moore case and the British Coal Corporation Case that the Judicial Committee is a full-fledged Imperial tribunal which may hold its sittings even" in the contemplation of the law" in Dublin or in Ottawa ?

We have not discussed the significance of Sec. 4 of the Statute of Westminster which is no less important than Sec. 2 of the Statute. It states: "No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the commencement of this Act shall extend, or be deemed to extend to a Dominion as part of the law of that Dominion unless it is expressly declared in that Act that the Dominion has requested and consented to the enactment thereof." If we acknowledge the equality of status of the Dominions with Great Britain, it is only logical that the Imperial Parliament would not claim to legislate for the

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[1] Keith in J. C. L. 1934; the Round Table, Sept., 1934.

[2] J. H. Morgan, K. C., in Dominion Status (Rhodes Lectures, 1929).

Dominions unless so requested by the latter. What was a deep-rooted convention for years, has now been formally embodied in this Statute.

But the Section raises a greater issue. Can the Imperial Parliament bind itself as regards its future action? In other words, is the Section which says that the Imperial Parliament would not in future legislate for a Dominion unless so requested by the latter valid in law ? No one can deny that the Imperial Parliament is a sovereign body and a sovereign body can repeal any Act that seeems to fetter its sovereignty. [1] In fact, the validity of Sec. 4 of this Statute, which fetters the future action and sovereignty of the Parliament at Westminster was doubted by some members of the Conference on the Operation of Dominion Legislation.

One thing is clear. The Statute of Westminster does not sound death-knell of the legal sovereignty of the Imperial Parliament over the Dominions. Indeed, the passage of the Statute is a proof of the existence of the sovereignty of the Imperial Parliament over the Dominions. "The Imperial Parliament still possesses a right which is not shared and cannot be shared by any member of the common-wealth—the right to passs laws for the whole common-wealth." Moreover, it must be noted that the vitality of the Colonial Laws Validity Act,—and Imperial Act—is not extinct with the passing of the Statute of Westminster. The Statute at present applies only to Canada, South Africa and the Irish Free State, for the other Dominions as already stated have not yet adopted this Statute. Again, the Statute also shows that the complete removal of restrictions on the legislative competence of at least some of the Dominions cannot be effected by the said Dominions without the collaboration of the Imperial Parliament.

III.

We now come to the present stage, the stage in which the logical consequences of Dominion sovereignty as enunciated by statutes and conventions are being fully appreciated. It must not be thought that the present stage denotes a full stop in the process of constitutional development of the Dominions.

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[1] See Dicey's Introduntion to the Study of Law of Constitution (8th Edition) pp. 62-65, where the learned jurist has given some examples to show that the Imperial Parliament cannot bind itself as regards its future actions.

[2] W. I. Jenings : The Law and the Constitution (pp. 128-129); cmd 3479, pp. 19-20.

Soon after the Statute of Westminster, the Parliament of Canada by an Act gave extraterritorial operation to the Acts passed before the 11th Dec., 1931, the date on which the Statute of Westminster came into force. The Irish Free State by Amedment No. 21 abolished the power of the Governor-General to withhold assent or reserve a bill — a natural result due to the altered position of the King's representative. By Amendment No. 22, the Oireachtas formally abolished the right of appeal from the Irish Supreme Court to the Judicial Committee and we have discussed the validity of these two Irish enactments. The Irish Senate was the next to fall under the reforming or revolutionary zeal of the Irish President and the Irish Citizenship and Nationality Bill, as we have seen, threatens the unity of the Empire.

The Parliament of the Union of South Africa intended to effect by a single stroke what some of the other Dominions attempted to achieve by instalments. The Status of Union Act 1934 declares in Sec. 2 that "the Parliament of the Union shall be sovereign legislative power in and over the Union and notwithstanding anything in any other law contained, no Act of the Parliament of the United Kingnom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland passed after the 11th day of December, 1931, shall extend or be deemed to extend to the Union as part of the law of the Union unless extended by an Act of the Parliament of the Union." If we study the Genesis of this Act, we must admit that this claim of sovereignty is not merely a pious declaration by the Parliament of a Dominion claiming equality of Status in law with Great Britain. [1] It is well known that general Hertzog, Prime Minister of South Africa, in his enthusiasm for the theory of "Sovereign independence" even contemplates the possibility of divisibility of the Crown in the Union and of neutrality of the Union in the case of Great Britain declaring war. Nay, he even believes that the Union has the legal right of secession from the British Commonwealth Nations.

Sec. 3 of the Status of Union Act incorporates Sec. 4 of the Statute of Westminster as a schedule to the Act. Sec. 4 of the Statute of Westminster, declares as we know, that no Act of the Imperial Parliament will, in future, be operative in a Dominion without the express consent of the Dominion concerned. The effect of the incorporation of Sec. 4 of the Statute in Sec. 3 of the Status of Union Act

[1] Keith in J. C. L. 1934 and 1935.

is that the former Section is now "deemed to be an Act of the South African Parliament" and that the request to extend an Imperial Act to the Union, if ever made, will be made by virtue of the Status of Union Act.

Sec. 4 provides that "the Executive Government of the Union in regard to any aspect of its domestic and external affairs is vested in the King, acting on the advice of his Ministers of State for the Union and may be administered by His Majesty in person or by a Governor-General as his representative." So far as Sec. 4 of the Act states that the Governor-General is to act with the advice of the South African Ministers, it has only placed a convention in the Statute Book and the change effected by Sections 8, 9 and 11 of the Act which take away the powers of "reservation" and "disallowance" from the Governor-General does not vitally affect the conventional position of the representative of the Crown.

It has already been emphasised that inspite of the declaration of equality between the United Kingdom and the Dominions by the Balfour formula the foreign affairs of the Empire are regulated by His Majesty's Government in Great Britain. Sec. 4 of the Status of Union Act now formally declares *as law* that the responsibility for external (as well as domestic) affairs of the Union is vested in the King or his representative who would act with the advice of his Ministers in the Union, thereby excluding the responsibility of His Majesty's Ministers in London. Whereas Secs. 2 and 3 of the Act declare formally the sovereignty of the Union, Sec. 4 intensifies the claim of sovereignty.

Now, what will be the effect if Great Britain declares war against a foreign State ? Does this declaration bind the Union ? Can the latter declare neutrality ? The validity of the Status of the Union Act has not yet been challenged. But it appears that by virtue of Secs. 2 and 4, the Union Government can now remain neutral and the Governor-General who is bound to act according to the advice tendered by the Union Government—not only by convention but also by law—can no longer disallow a Bill and must proclaim neutrality, if the Union Government so desire. But it may be argued that according to International Law, such a position is untenable and that it is difficult to imagine a situation in which a foreign power will recognise the neutrality of the Union when Great Britain is committed to war.

Those who hold this view may profitably cite the authority of Isaacs J. of the Australian High Court in Taylor *vs.* Attorney-General of Queensland, to state that nothing short of complete secession or declaration of independence can legalise the declaration of neutrality by a Dominion. Furthermore, it should be remembered that the Statute of Westminster did not touch such matters as treaty-making power, diplomacy and international sovereignty. In other words, it was understood that in these matters, *status quo* should be maintained and that on Great Britain should rest the ultimate responsibility for declaring war, netrality and peace, on behalf of the Empire though she is bound by convention to consult the Dominions.

On the other hand, it may be pointed out that the Taylor Case was decided by the Australian High Court long before the Statute of Westminster and that no question of neutrality or matters connected with it have come before the Superme Court of the Union. Though we are not entitled to anticipate the decision of a judiciary on a hypothetical case, we may be on the right side of conjecture if we hazard the opinion that the Superme Court of the Union would not reject the provisions of the Status of Union Act or any Act passed in pursuance of the said Act as void and ultravires. No doubt a municipal court should administer law in such a way as not to infringe the well-recognised principles of International Law but if the legislature in its sovereign right passes any law within its competence—and this is the bone of contention in this case—which is not in consonance with the substance or spirit of International Law, the municipal court has no power to declare the same void. The solution of this tangle lies through diplomatic channel and so depends upon the executive actions of Great Britain and the Union of South Africa.

Where lies then the unity of the Empire? What about that sacred dictum "The Crown is one and indivisible throughout the Empire," which is said to be the corner-stone of the whole structure of the British Commonwealth? And what was urged by General Hertzog as within the competence of the Union Parliament, has been declared by Mr. Pirow, Minister of Defence of the Union, only a few months ago—but before the Abyssinian War—as a distinct possibility in the event of a future war.

We have travelled long and traversed a wide field. We have noted the essentials that differentiate the Imperial Parliament from a Dominion Legislature. But will it be correct, inspite of the limitations of a Dominion Legislature, to "include under one head" as non-sovereign bodies "both municipal bodies such as railway companies, school boards, town councils and the like which possess a limited power of making laws and bodies such as the Parliaments of the British Colonies......" as has been done by no less a jurist than Dicey?[1] It will be evident even to the most casual observer that the similarities between the Parliament of Australia and the London Midland Scottish Railway Co. are only superficial. To an Austinian theorist both may appear as non-sovereign bodies but since the modern complex political organisations show that sovereignty is divisible,[2] dependence of a body in some matters on another body does not make the former non-sovereign. The fact is that a Dominion Legislature is sovereign within its powers and these powers may be of immense magnitude as is evident from the provisions of the Statute of Westminster, 1931 or of far reaching implication as is shown by the Status of Union Act, 1934.

In connection with the sovereignty of the Dominions, a point of intriguing interest has been raised by some publicists. Can the Dominions secede from the Commonwealth? Have they any legal right to do so? We have discussed the attitude and the claim of the Union of South Africa; we have seen that in the Moore Case, the Judicial Committee held that the Irish Free State can amend the Constitution Act in any way they like, wiping away all vestige of King's prerogatives from the Constitution. In fact, the attitude of the Irish Free State has caused anxeity in the people on both sides of the Channel. If the Irish Free State wants to sever all connections with the British Commonwealth and become an independent State, she has to achieve that end through other means and not through the Dail—she should not utilise an Imperial Act to attain that objective. Secession is not envisaged in the power of amendment inserted in a Constitution Act. It is an extra-legal Act. It should be effected by a formal and unequivocal declaration of independence with all its natural consequences. Professor Lasky rightly observes in his book "Grammar of Politics" that, it ought not to be possible for fundamental changes like the establishment of Fascist Government in Italy or the Socialist Government in Russia, or Republican Government in Spain to be made through constitutional amendments.

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[1] Dicey : The Law of the Constitution (8th Ed.), pp. 88 *et seq.*
[2] Oppenheim : International Law, Vol. I (Peace), p. 142.

In conclusion, we may profitably make a summary of the salient points of development of this League of Nations, the seeds of which were sown long before the birth of its reputed compeer at Versailles and its anointment at Geneva. The Imperial Parliament has still the legal supremacy over the Dominions. The passing of the Statute of Westminster, the reservations made thereunder in favour of the Imperial Parliament, the operation of the Imperial Statutes like the Copy Right Act, 1911 and the Air Navigation Act, 1920 and even the Constitution Acts themselves bear testimony to the supermacy of the Parliament at Westminster. Of course, in accordance with the true spirit of Dominion autonomy and as a matter of practical politics, the Imperial Parliament will not in future legislate for a Dominion unless so requested by the latter. The Governor-General of a Dominion,—who in most cases in future will be a nominee of the Dominion concerned—is at present in the position of a constitutional monarch, with hardly any special powers or prerogatives, but acting on the advice of the Dominion Government, with the result that in some extreme cases he may be asked to act against the interest of the Imperial Government. However, it is hoped that so long as the unity of the Empire continues to be some thing more than a mere legal fiction, a Governor-General will not be required to face such a dilemma.

Along with legislation by the Imperial Government, the two other factors that greatly facilitated the growth of self-government in the Dominions are international politics and convention. The limits of extra-territoriality have been brushed aside: The Governor-General's powers of " disallowance " and " reservation," as we have seen, have either been deleted from the Constitution Acts or have been reduced to vanishing points. The Dominions which have availed themselves of the operative sections of the Statute of Westminster have the legal right to abolish appeals to the Judicial Committee. Though the Judges in the Dominion High Courts are still appointed in the name of the King, it is difficult to reconcile the sovereignty of the Dominions with the time-honoured maxim—" The King is the Fountain of Justice." And in a paradoxical way the King's prerogatives have now become the privileges of the people of Great Britain and of the Dominions. But there is a rift in the lute. The present powers and position of the Dominions in the sphere of international politics, high as they are, mellow to some extent, the glow of sovereignty of the Dominions. But this is what should be, for the Dominons are still the King's Dominions and parts of the Empire. Even in this sphere the Dominions are no longer subordinate bodies but co-ordinate with the Imperial Government if, in the true spirit of inter-Imperial relations, Great Britain does not want to force unity of action on a recalcitrant Dominion in a crisis,—a course hardly imaginable—but demands unity of hearts to avert a common menace.

The British Empire is not the first empire in the history of civilization but it is the greatest of all. The Greeks and the Romans had their dominions flung in the distant corners of the World; they had their viceroys, governors, garrisons and gendarmes but they governed their empires with a tyrannous zeal, and spirit of domination that did not leave any room for evolution of an autonomous form of government in the conquered countries, with the result that the heterogenous elements in them were never attempted to be moulded into a homogenous whole to insure peace, prosperity and above all the duration of the empires. As opposed to the policy of the Greeks and Romans, the British Empire with its autonomous Dominions is a novel experiment of unique success envied by all.

But have the British Dominions attained their goal? Has the last word been said about the development of autonomy in the Dominions? It has been noted that the Dominions in exercise of their rights "within their powers" still suffer from the fetters of quaint legal forms,[1] and there is "still room for conventions and gradual development in the inter-imperial relations." But future can only say whether all these changes when made, will hold together the component parts of this great British Commonwealth of Nations in an indissoluble union for years, decades and centuries till "the old order changeth yielding place to new." [2]

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[1] Gathorne Hardy in International Affairs, Nov., Dec., 1933.

[2] The writer is indebted for this article to Constitutional Laws of the British Empire by H. Morgan, K.C. and W. Ivor Jennings (in the press).

THE BYRONIC HERO—A STUDY IN DEVELOPMENT

A. K. SEN, M.A.,
Lecturer, Calcutta University.

4. THE BYRONIC HERO IN MANFRED AND CAIN.

AN outcast from England, Byron came to Italy and the Alps. There he met " Shelley plain " and fell a victim to the charm of his personality. The world around him became instinct with life and spirit

" ....from the high host
Of stars, to the lull'd lake and mountain coast
All is concenterd in a life intense."

He felt the stirrings of a " feeling infinite " melting through his personality and " blending all things with beauty." He moved in a world entirely different from the world of his earlier experiences. Goethe also cast his spell on him. He gathered inspiration from Faust. The picture of a strong personality sacrificing everything, even endangering salvation itself, for knowledge and power enthralled him—and the result was Manfred.

Midnight in the Alps. All heaven and earth are hushed into silence. The mountains glimmer in the distance. Strange whispers fill the air. A dim mysterious figure creeps along, forlorn and downcast, muttering to itself its own sorrowful thoughts. All on a sudden a solemn incantation breaks the silence.

" ....now by the voice of him
Who is the first among you—by this sign
Which makes you tremble—by the claims of him
Who is undying—Rise! Appear! Appear!"

A star appears casting a ghastly glare on the entire landscape. Spirit voices are heard approaching nearer and nearer. They come—" the spirits of the unbounded universe "—from their mansions in the clouds, their dwellings in the mountain fastnesses, their calm halls of coral in the blue depths of the sea. Manfred stands before them praying for self-oblivion. But that is not to be. The spirits of nature can confer on him power and knowledge ; they cannot make him forget the bitter experiences of the past. There now comes floating from the distant horizon a strange voice which pronounces his doom.

> "Though thy slumber may be deep
> Yet thy spirit shall not sleep:
> There are shades which will not vanish,
> There are thoughts thou canst not banish;
> By a power to thee unknown
> Thou canst never be alone;"

The entire atmosphere is reminiscent of Shelley and Goethe. But Manfred himself carries on the Byronic tradition. His slumbers are "but a continuance of enduring thought." He is "cursed to be his own proper hell." "Grey haired with anguish," "furrowed over with wrinkles ploughed by moments" this poor wanderer appeals to the toppling crags of ice to kill him. The mountains around him are only fitting tombs for his tired spirit, and, driven to desperation, he seeks peace in death. Haunting memories of a nameless guilt pursue him everywhere. Blood seems to colour the clouds and "shut him from heaven." His actions "have made his days and nights imperishable ;" they form one vast desert, barren and cold, strewn with the wrecks of his past life. His solitude is now "peopled with furies." He curses himself all day and all night. Yet he is a proud spirit. His nature refuses to be tamed down. He cannot mingle with the crowd even to become its leader. He stands all alone to battle with the stormy passions of his own heart. He confronts the mysterious spirits of nature with undaunted courage—

> "The mind, the spirit, the Promethean fire
> The lightening of my being is as bright
> Pervading and far-darting as your own
> And shall not yield to yours, though coop'd in clay."

Even when his soul ebbs away he defies the call of the spirits of evil. He breathes his scorn upon them ; he wrestles with them and to the last exults in his own strength of soul.

Close contact with Goethe has changed the poet's outlook. When Manfred conjures up the beautiful spirit of the Alps, or when he descends to the Hall of Ahrimanes where sit the Destinies of Man and Nemesis, the Inscrutable Power, we are reminded of Goethe's Faust. The summons of the spirit of evil, the last appearance of Manfred, his soul forfeit to the Devil, the gradual gathering of doom round his forlorn self, his feeble attempts to resist and his final farewell—all confess the influence of Goethe on the mind of Byron. Manfred also shows indications of being modelled, in certain aspects of his character, upon Faust. He cherishes at heart the same visions and noble aspirations. He dreams the same dream of becoming " the enlightener of mankind " and of rising to the highest pinnacle of eminence to which the human spirit can climb.

His joys and sorrows, his passions and powers make him a stranger among men. He shrinks from their very presence ; but " the difficult air of the iced mountain's top," "the swift whirl of the new-breaking waves," " the moving moon " and " the dazzling lightnings," attract him most. He finds within himself an urge for knowledge ; and then—

" I dived,
In my wanderings to the caves of death,
Searching its cause in its effect; and drew
From wither'd bones, and skulls, and heap'd up dust
Conclusions most forbidden......"

He has made himself familiar with Eternity and rejoices in the power of " this most bright intelligence which is man's." Love comes to him as it did to Faust. His beloved has " the same lone thoughts," " the same quest of hidden knowledge ; " the same mind to comprehend the universe. She is not only a genius but a woman too. Pity, smiles, and tears, tenderness and humility—she is gifted with them all. But her love withers away, her heart is broken and she perishes.

The sharpened intellect of Manfred cannot take on trust the accepted traditions of his age. Like the undaunted spirit of revolutionary thinkers he must probe and ponder before accepting any creed. He refuses to choose a mortal as his mediator. He recognises no power in Holy men, no charm in prayer, no efficacy in penitence. The mind, according to him, " is its own origin of ill and end," " its own place and time." He understands, too late, the significance of love in life. He hankers for his beloved, calling on her in the still night " making the caves acquainted with her vainly echoed name." He now recognises the fact that " knowledge is not happiness ;" it is only " an exchange of ignorance for that which is another kind of ignorance."

Nature no longer consoles the Byronic hero. Manfred feels that he can no longer love the magnificent scenery around him. Beautiful and glorious is the world around us.

> " But we, who name ourselves its sovereigns we,
> half dust, half deity, alike unfit
> To sink or soar, with our mixed essence make
> A conflict of its elements, and breathe
> The breath of degradation and pride."

The mists boiling up round the glaciers, clouds which rise curling from beneath his feat, the threatening crags of Mount Rosenburgh only suggest thoughts of death to this desolate soul. He feels indeed a kinship with the beautiful objects of nature but they no longer suggest to him that feeling intense of an all-pervading love as they did to Childe Harold. Nature can no longer offers him consolation.

Cain belongs to a world where even death is unknown. He has not to pass through those experiences which wither up the personality of a Manfred or a Giaour. His revolt is the revolt of the Intellect rather than of the passions. He is a pungent critic of the world as he finds it around him. He refuses to take things on trust. Like Voltaire and other destructive critics, he is a past master in the art of asking disconcerting questions.

> " Knowledge is good,
> And life is good; and how can both be evil?"

Original sin and Man's fall are two enigmas which his reason fails to understand. He asks—

> " ....Why
> Did he yield to the serpent and the woman ? or,
> Yielding, why suffer ? What was there in this ?
> The tree was planted, and why not for him?
> If not, why place him near it, where it grew
> The fairest in the centre? "

The only reply he receives is " 'Twas *His* will and *He* is just." " How know I that ? " persists Cain, " because *He* is All-powerful, must All-good too follow ? " His life, again, is a life of toil ; but why should it be so ? The doctrine of original sin does not satisfy him. " What had I done in it ? " He asks, " —I was unborn

"I sought not to be born; nor love the state
To which that Birth has brought me."

High ideals oppress him. He seems nothing, but thoughts arise in his mind."

"......as if they
Could master all things."

He finds no sympathy in this world. His father is tamed down. His mother forgets that thirst for knowledge which made her risk future salvation; his beloved does not understand "the mind which overwhelms him." In spite, however, of these unsympathetic environments, he stands proudly erect. He will worship none, not even Lucifer who promises to reveal truth, "I never" he proudly answers, "as yet bowed unto my father's God, although often implored by my brother to join him in his sacrifices. Why should I now bow to thee?" and there is a finality in his words when he concludes—"I will bend to neither." Thoughts of the future destiny of man weigh him down. Thousands of his hapless descendants will only inherit the accumulated misery of ages. And he curses God.

"Cursed be
He who invented life that leads to death!
Or the dull mass of life, that, being life,
Could not retain, but needs must forfeit it—
Even for the innocent."

He has an insatiable thirst for knowledge. The "beautiful and unimaginable ether," "the blue wilderness of interminable air," the aerial universe of endless expansion, "the innumerable spheres of planets"—he wants to know them all. This ardent yearning for truth incites him to follow Lucifer across the wide expanse where, with wide-eyed wonder, he looks upon—

"The dead
The immortal, the unbounded the omnipotent
The overpowering mysteries of space—
The innumerable worlds that were and are—
A whirlwind of such overwhelming things,
Suns, moons, and earths, upon their loud-voiced spheres."

And then his eyes flash with unnatural light; his cheeks are all aglow with emotion; his words become prophetic and he himself lives in a world isolated from humanity. He has gazed on eternity and become conscious of his own littleness. The sum of human knowledge is only to know "mortal nature's nothingness." This partial unravelling of the universe makes him more sceptical. He attacks all cherished ideals, all established principles. How can man atone for his original sin by animal sacrifices ?

> "What atonement
> Were there? Why, we are innocent, what have we
> Done, that we must be victims for a deed
> Before our birth, or need have victims to
> Atone for this mysterious nameless sin—
> If it be a sin to seek for knowledge?"

He has "toiled and tilled and sweaten in the sun" according to the curse. Is not that enough ? What more can God expect from him ?

> "For what should I be gentle? for a war
> With all the elements ere they yield
> The bread we eat ? For what must I be grateful?
> For being dust and grovelling in the dust,
> Till I return to dust?..............
> " For what should I
> Be contrite? For my father's sin, already
> Expiate with what we all have undergone,
> And to be more than expiated by
> The ages prophesied, upon our seed?......"

He, therefore, "seeks nothing which must be won by kneeling" and addresses God significantly. "If he is evil strike him ! Thou art omnipotent and mayest "......" If he be good strike him or spare him, as thou wilt."

All rests upon God and to Cain good and evil seem to have no power themselves except in the will of God.

Manfred and Cain mark a distinct stage in the development of the Byronic hero. In his passionate nature, proud spirit, and complete self-isolation Manfred carries on the earlier tradition ; but his insatiable thirst for knowledge and his definite rejection of nature as a consoling power mark him out as representing a type entirely different from the Byronic heroes of the verse-tales or even the dramas. Cain has not the isolated spirit of Manfred nor is he pursued by memories

TO AND FROM SOUTH AMERICA

(*Academic Notes.*)

DR. KALIDAS NAG, M.A. (CAL.), D.LITT. (PARIS)

INVITED to the 14th International PEN Congress, by the PEN club of Buenos Aires we found that the Argentine authors keep in close touch with the academic groups of their country. Thus not only we had the pleasure of meeting the writers of prose and poetry but had also the happy chance of knowing several learned societies of Buenos Aires. We were specially received, among others, by the Junta de Historia y Numismatica Americana, by the Comision Nacional de Cultura and by the Academia Argentina de Letras. The President of the last organisation, the Argentine Academy of Letters, Dr. Carlos Ibarguren, was President of the Buenos Aires Pen club as well. His opening discourse, which I quote a little, would illustrate how the writers of Latin America are keenly alive to the academic and cultural movements of the world: "This Congress which we are going to inaugurate to-day seems to be the symbolic manifestation of the spirit of Humanism soaring above the roars of the mechanical civilization, political and economic materialism and the surging passions which threaten to overwhelm Humanity in this critical hour of history."

The Argentine people, as I found, are deeply devoted to History and one of their national leaders, Bartholomew Mitré, the founder of her leading newspaper 'La Nacion' was also the founder of a new school of History. His memory is worthily perpetuated by the learned members of the society of American History and Numismatics which organised a very instructive reunion at the premises of the society containing the souvenirs of late Dr. Mitré. I had the good fortune of knowing the grand-daughter (a talented poetess) of Dr. Mitré. She very kindly presented me with the rare volumes of Argentine history left by her grand-father and the books would be cherished by our University seminar of History. Thanks to the courtesies of our progressive Vice-Chancellor, Mr. S. P. Mookerjee, a select set of our university publications were sent through me to be presented to the University of the Argentine Republic. Those books were presented by me on the day when the Rector of the Buenos Aires University, the eminent philosopher Dr. C. Alberini, was presiding over my lecture at the crowded hall of the University on the "Art and Archaeology of India." The students were most responsive and they took me down to their common room to show me how they cherish the portrait of our national poet Rabindranath Tagore placed by the side of another world-poet, Goethe. Through Dr. Alberini, I came to be introduced not only to the learned professors of the Buenos Aires University but also to the scholars of the University and the museum of La Plata. Dr. Alfredo D. Calcagno, Dean of the University of La Plata, signalized the cultural rapprochement of his university with the University of Calcutta, by getting me to write in Chinese ink in the University Album and he assured me that the important publications of the University and of the Museum of La Plata will come regularly to the University of Calcutta. I was deeply touched by such acts of friendly collaboration and I hoped that our Indian universities and learned societies would similarly exchange publications with Latin America. The La Plata Museum is the most important institution for pre-Columbian art remains and paleontology of South America and some day our research scholars from the Anthropology and the Fine Arts Department may profitably work in La Plata Museum and also in the ethnographic laboratory and museum of the Buenos Aires University under the eminent anthropologist Dr. Felex F. Outes, who warmly welcomed me. The University is also the centre of the "Society of Argentine History" which publishes scientific monographs and bulletins under the direction of Dr. S. A. Radaelli who kindly showed me round his valuable archives. I was introduced to Prof. Ricardo Rojas, the greatest living authority on Argentine History and Literature and a former Rector of the University. His latest study on the life of General San Martin is considered to be a classic. Two other members of the Faculty deeply interested in the Indian culture were Prof. Hector Catalano of the Department of Philosophy and Prof. Dr. Alexander Pulman in charge of the Department of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology. The Professor and his pupils kindly arranged a special reunion for the guest from the Calcutta University and an address was read by a student after the Sanskrit lessons. I was delighted to find that many of the students, men and women (about 45 attended) could write their lessons in Sanskrit character and Prof. Pulman would explain clearly the significance of the special formation from the point of view of Indo-European linguistics. The special reunion was also attended by Swami Vijayananda of the local Ramakrishna mission who is doing splendid work for the last five years, propagating Indian philosophical ideas for the first time in Latin America. He spoke words encouraging the students and assuring them of his help and co-operation which was very much appreciated. The meeting was also graced by the presence of His Excellency Nadir Arasteh, Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Shah of Iran. He and his cultured wife joined me in congratulating Professor Pulman and his pupils on their developing quietly in the University of Argentine a centre of Indo-Iranian studies which form the basis of Indo-European philology. Prof. Pulman suffers a good deal through lack of Sanskrit books and I hope that our Indian publishers would send complimentary copies (which would be reviewed by Prof. Pulman in learned periodicals) of Sanskrit and allied texts or translations for the use of his seminar.

Before leaving Buenos Aires I had the privilege of participating in the public meeting of the Ramkrishna Centenary where I was invited to deliver an address on "India Yesterday and To-day." Swami Vijayananda discussed in Spanish the universal significance of the life and teaching of the Saint of Dakshineswar and Madam Sophia Wadia of the Indian PEN Bombay and Mrs. Adelina Guiraldes, wife of the great writer of Argentine Ricardo Guiraldes, also addressed the meeting which breathed an atmosphere of peace and fellowship, for over 1,000 persons stayed in perfect silence for nearly a couple of hours.

Addressing the PEN Congress I had also the pleasure of announcing and inviting the co-operation of the assembly of international writers in the forth coming birth centenary of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the pioneer of modern literature in Bengal and for that matter in all India. As the composer of our national hymn *Bande Mátaram*, he is entitled to the permanent gratitude of the Indian nation: but no less does he deserve the homage of the writers of to-day for the great work he did in the 19th century, in develcping a cultural rapprochement between the East and the West through his novels and essays. My proposition was warmly seconded by several writers of note and I hope that many of them will send their original contributions and messages if we from our Indian Celebration Committee offer to publish them in a Bankim Commemoration Volume.

Between Argentine and Brazil comes the tiny republic of Uruguay with its capital and university town of Montevideo which Garibaldi in his youthful days made famous. It is a clean beautiful city with a richly decorated Parliament house all in mosaic of the many-coloured marbles of Uruguay. The National Library and the University occupy a sumptuous building and we were shown a few rare books especially the romanized text of the Bible translated into some dialects of the Indian tribes, and published from Peru in the 16th century. Spanish is the official language and the Faculties are divided as usual into four sections, Letters, Law, Science and Medicine. The Dean of the Faculty of Law, the Rector, is a renowned philosopher keen on the philosophy of Education. Though a small country Uruguay is proud to have given to the world the works of the most renowned Essayist Jose Enrique Rodo, and an outstanding poetess, Mme Ibarbourou the Vice-President of the PEN Club of Montevideo. The metropolis also has a well-organized School of Fine Arts.

The United States of Brazil is, like India, more a continent than a country and in area it is $1\frac{1}{3}$ of Europe. Almost half the country has not yet been explored, especially the area to the north of river Amazon. Brazil alone forms almost half of South America and stands sharply differentiated by two things: (1) the official recognition of the Portuguese language although politically she is independent of Portugal for over a century ; (2) the total absence of race prejudice of any kind, European folk marrying freely the indigenous Indians as well as imported African Negroes and the mixed races betraying no signs of inferiority complex of the Eurasian groups elsewhere. Thus a very bold ethnological experiment is going on in Brazil which offers an ample field for the study of race relations and for anthropological research. The medical faculty was the first to develop and it recently celebrated its centenary.[1] The conquest of Yellow Fever, the researches on snake venom in the famous Butantan Institute of São Paulo, among others, testify to the achievements of the Brazilian scientists. The Rockefeller foundation has generously supplied funds to the University of São Paulo and built a big hospital in Santos, the biggest port of Brazil exporting 80% of the world consumption of coffee.

Rio de Janeiro, the capital, is one of the finest harbour towns of the world and its inimitable beach promenade Botofagio, the green hills, the rich vegetation, all combined to give it an air of supreme beauty. People love literature, and fine arts as I learnt coming in contact with an artist couple, Mr. and Mrs. Raul Pedroza. There is an Academy of Arts and Letters for occasional exhibitions and meetings of writers and artists. The newspapers welcome articles on Art and some editors of the leading papers are artists and writers. That is why Stefan Zweig, Georges Duhamel Emil Ludwig and other PEN delegates were enthusiastically received and fêted in Rio de Janeiro.

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[1] F. Magalhaes : Centenario da Faculdade de Medicina.
Lo. Rio de Janeiro (1832-1932)

The Municipal University is a model institution which deserves to be imitated by every municipality of India. It is manned by young pedagogues like Prof. J. A. Peixoto, Prof. R. M. de Azevedo, Prof. Hermes Lima, Prof. E. C. Rebello and Prof. C. O. do Prado Kally keen on their respective subjects, under the Director Prof. M. B. Lourenio Filho educated in the best institutions of U. S. A. and who are remarkably original in the judicious selection and adaptation of foreign methods to local needs. Music and Fine arts, psychology and physiology, elementary science and hygiene, ethnology and sociology form the integral parts of the syllabus of Education.[1] The teachers are devoted and alert and the students passing out of the Institute are recruited into the primary and secondary education services of the country for which there are infinite possibilities. Negro students work side by side with white boys and girls and a rare spirit of camaraderie prevails all over.

The Central University of Rio de Janeiro is divided into several departments under the able direction of the learned Rector Raul Leitão Da Cunha. He was very sympathetic, welcomed me in his room explaining the plans and projects of the University and assured me of his support so far as the supply of books and publications are concerned if our Indian students wished to learn Portuguese and something about the biggest Portuguse-speaking country in the world. He and his colleagues were deeply interested to know from me that for years together we hold classes in Portuguese under Dr. Braganza Cunha. They enquired eagerly about the general activities of our University of Calcutta, and of other Indian Universities and when we parted I felt we have many friends in this far-off region of Latin America. Students of our Commerce Department should take up earnestly either Spanish or Portuguese in order to be able to establish connections with this as yet unexplored continent of the Western Hemisphere.

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[1] Vide: *Arquivos do Instituto de Educação* also *Universidade do Districto Federal*, Rio de Janeiro, (1934-35).

From the capital city of Brazil naturally I managed to gather some information about the various cultural societies and their activities as evidenced by the numerous organizations cited below. The Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Rio de Janeiro, maintains a special department of Portuguese (Gabinete Portuguese de Leitura). There also one finds Centro de Estudos Archeologicos, Instituto Historico Geographico Brasileiro. So in North Brazil the cities of Sergipe and Pernambuco and Parahybana have their own historical, geographical, scientific and literary societies. They keep in close connection with Portugal, her savants and institutes as I gathered from the PEN delegate from Portugal, Prof. Fidelino de Figueiredo, one of the leading scholars and founder-editor of the "Revista de Historia" (1912-1928).

From Brazil our boat took us directly to the first European port of Lisbon and I found a special joy in landing in Portugal this year which, by a mere coincidence, happens to celebrate the 450th anniversary of Bartholomew Diaz touching the Cape of Good Hope (1486) almost a decade before Vasco da Gama would round it and land in India. On our way to Lisbon we touched Las Palmas (Canary Isles) the last colony of Spain once a great colonizer of history. So Portugal is not the land of Cabral or Albuquerque any more. Yet I had special pleasure in visiting the historic monuments and learned institutions of Lisbon. The most impressive of all were the tombs of Vasco da Gama and his junior contemporary, Poet Camoens (1524-79), the immortal author of the great Epic of Luciad composed chiefly in the East. The University of Lisbon is an impressive edifice in a beautiful part of the city and, as in all Latin centres of learning, offers four important Faculties of Letters, Sciences, Law and Medicine. The sister universities of Coimbra and Oporto come to supplement the works of Lisbon and in these universities many students of Portuguese India, specially Goa, come to finish their studies. There is an Indian Institute in the University of Coimbra, where the Great Camoens studied. Thanks to Dr. F. d. Figuereido who was once the Chief Librarian I gathered that there are ample materials in the "Colonial Archive" and in the National Library of Lisbon to keep Indian scholars engaged for years especially on the early navigation and economic relations of India and Portugal in the 16th and 17th centuries.[1] The learned societies which our Universities should be in touch with are: Instituto de Altos Estudos; Lisbon; Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa; Casa de España, Lisbon; Academia das Ciencias, Lisbon; Institut de Coimbra among others. Dr. Paul Pieres has already published a volume on "Ceylon and the Portuguese" and Dr. Surendranath Sen, the first Bengali scholar to visit Portugal, has tapped valuable sources in Portuguese records. Now if the Universities of Bombay, Mysore, Madras, etc., also come forward to explore this much neglected field, we hope they will get sympathetic co-operation of the Government of Goa and of the unversities of Portugal through the Portuguese Ministry of Education and of Foreign Affairs. This was suggested to me by the Consul-General of Portugal in Bombay who travelled with me in the same boat to India.

From Lisbon I reached London and visited the new edifices and departments that are being constructed in this year of the Centenary of the University which co-operated with our University of Calcutta for decades. A brilliant course of illustrated lectures were being delivered at the University by Prof. Frankfort on the recent trends of Egyptian and Mesopotamian Archaeology. After attending the lectures I had the pleasure of meeting Prof. Frankfort who was enthusiastic about our Indus Valley finds and who would be glad to visit India if Indian Universities invited him. He has unique experience in field work as the Director of Excavations of the Oriental Institute of Chicago.

I was invited to attend a plenary session of the Royal Institute of International Affairs listening to and discussing the address of Mr. Alexander, M. P., on the "Pacific Problems," on his return from the Pan-Pacific Conference in California. I was fortunate to be present at the opening of the 50th Jubilee Exhibition of the British School of Athens which did such splendid work in Crete, Mycaene and other sites of pre-historic Greece, under Sir Arthur Evans who luckily was present to deliver the inaugural address. The Exhibition was a splendid demonstration of the science of archaeology collaborating with the arts of pictorial and plastic representations; the models and charts as well as the original gems, seals and ceramic remains were wonderful and attracted a large number of judicious admirers.

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[1] It is to the credit of the United States of Brazil that it financed on the occasion of the first Centenary of the Independence of Brazil, the scholarly and richly illustrated publication of *Historia da Colonizoção Portugesa do Brasil*: Letografia Nacional, Porto, (1924).

My trip to the Irish Free State and visits to the Trinity College, the Dublin University and the National University, the National Library, the National Gallery, etc., brought home to my mind the great field of cultural collaboration between India and the Irish Free State. This is specially true of the great National Museum [1] of Dublin which I visited with great profit, thanks to the help and direction of my friend Mr. Seamus Maccall, the author of "So Began the Irish Nation." The pre-historic collections, the pre-Christian Gaelic finds, the rare gold and silver ornaments and early Christian art specimen are unique things in Europe. The Free State Government is making grand efforts to reconstruct the past history of this heroic nation and is also financing generously the collection and publication of the Irish Folk-lore Commission as I gathered from Mr. Seamus O Duilearga, Honorary Director of the Irish Folk-lore Commission of the National University of Dublin. Irish scholars like Dr. M. Dillon of the Department of Sanskrit will be very glad to correspond with our Indian workers in a similar field and they were glad to know what our Bengali scholars helped by our University of Calcutta have already done especially in recovering the Mymensingh Ballads from oblivion. The Irish Folk-lore Commission is in touch with similar societies of folk-lore research in Scandinavia, Germany, U. S. A. and England. So their work may naturally lead to an inquiry into and comparison with the folk literature of our Indian villages.

Lastly I must record with thanks the kind courtesy of the Rector of the University of South Africa [2] while I was in Cape Town. Here on a magnificent hill-site, the new University campus is laid out while the old edifices in the town continue their work as extension blocks. The education here, as must be in a growing industrial country appears to be mainly practical with medical and technological and agricultural sciences as specialities. Hence these institutions and their researches may be of special benefit to our Indian Universities where unfortunately training tends to be too theoretical and academic owing to the unfortunate divorce of the University from Industry and from the Government departments of technical and scientific research. For mining metallurgy and agriculture, no less than for ethnology and anthropology, South Africa offers a vast field for the world of savants and we hope that India would benefit by them, as she is knit with South Africa through the Bureau of British Universities. The museums of Durban and Cape Town contain rare object of anthropological interest.[1]

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[1] Ard. Mhusaeum Na hEireann or The National Museum of Ireland has published a series of valuable bulletins and illustrated monographs. The National monuments of the Irish Free State; Guide to the Collection of Irish Antiquities; Early Christian Art in Ireland, etc. So the Irish Antiquities Division is carrying on excavations the reports of which are published periodically by the Saorstat Eireann : Department of Education, Dublin.

[2] Indian Universities should apply to the Rector for a regular supply of the following useful Prospectus of the University : Faculty of Engineering, Faculty of Education, Faculty of Law, Faculty of Medicine, Faculty of Commerce, Faculty of Music and of Fine Arts, and Programmes of Social Studies and of the School of African Studies.

South Africa as well as South America are lands of great promise; and although Immigration restrictions may cause temporary set back, specially in South Africa, yet economic and cultural relations of India with those countries would, if properly cultivated especially through our Universities, bring happy results, as I feel strongly, during my visit and I beg to record my best thanks to the authorities of my University for having permitted me to explore partially these new continents of human co-operation.

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[1] *Vide* Dr. Paringucy : *Stone Ages of South Africa* (Annals of South African Museum Vol. VIII, 1911). Prof. Goodwin (of the Department of Social Anthropology, University of Cape Town) has recently given an excellent *Handbook to the Collections of Stone Implements* (South African Museum, 1926). The valuable relics from Zimbabwe, collected by Theodore Bent in 1891 has recently been reinstalled and treated scientifically. The De Paso collection is also very interesting.

EVOLUTION OF MODERN CIVILIZATION AND FAILURE OF REVOLUTIONS

TARAK NATH DAS.

California.

There is no doubt about the fact that we are facing a new era in the history of evolution of modern civilization. Democratic ideals and political institutions based upon the representative system and parliamentary form of government are being assailed by doctrines of Communism, Fascism and Nazism, which oppose liberalism and advocate government by dictatorship of some form—dictatorship of the proletariat as practised in Soviet Russia, dictatorship upholding the ideals of extreme nationalism as it is in Fascist Italy, or dictatorship of Racialism as preached and practised by the Hitler regime in Germany.

Every thoughtful student of history, interested in the future of our present-day social order is faced with the question, Is a violent social revolution essentially necessary or even inevitable for the progress of human society? There are some sociologists and political thinkers who believe that bloddy revolutions are the inevitable results of oppressive rule of autocrats and irresponsible ruling classes who denied the fundamentals of human rights to the masses. They justify the communist revolution in Russia; and to them all revolutions are inevitable and necessary instruments of progress. Others think that all important beneficent changes in our social order have been brought about through peaceful and untiring work of reformers and humanitarians; while the revolutionists of various ages used the successful activities of social reformers as a stepping-stone for violent changes, which always defeated their so-called aims for human progress.

Dr. Everett Dean Martin, Professor of Social Philosophy at Cooper Union, New York, in his recent work "Farewell to Revolution,'[1] presents a well-worked thesis which should be carefully considered by all students of government and sociology. The central thesis of this thought-provoking work is '*the undeniable futility of revolution. The history of revolutions shows them to be the supreme example of human folly*" (p. 228). He suggests that all revolutions have been brought about supposedly for the welfare of the people, but in actuality they are the work of a minority party which rules in the name of the people. This minority political party, to keep itself in power, destroys the freedom of the majority and retards the cause of human progress. Professor Martin uses his extensive knowledge of social psychology in interpreting history of revolutions and revolutionary tactics, in terms of romanticism and mass psychology. In this work, he has made a systematic survey of major revolutions from the time of ancient Rome up to the Communist Revolution in Russia, the Fascist Revolution in Italy and the National Socialist Revolution in Germany.

The fall of the Roman Empire which was caused partially by the Christian factions and the barbarian invasion of Rome retarded human progress by several centuries. Prof. Martin's conclusions regarding Protestant Revolution or the Reformation may not be palatable to many, as he holds that progress of Christian civilization was retarded by Protestant

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[1] Everett Dean Martin, Farewell to Revolution. New York. W. W. Norton & Company, 1935, pp. 280. Price 3·00.

Revolution, one of the most important factors for many wars in Europe. He holds that the French Revolution failed to emnacipate the masses and Proletariat Revolutions of the nineteenth century and the recent revolutions in Russia, Italy and Germany have executed the precious ideal of human liberty and human rights. He thinks that from the standpoint of mass psychology in the long run, an appeal to nationalism and racialism is more effective as propaganda than appealing to the masses on the basis of "working men of the world should unite to overthrow the capitalist class ;" and for this reason the masses of Italy and Germany are supporting Fascism and National Socialism in their respective lands. It should be recognised that there is less chance of overthrowing dictatorships in Italy and Germany through internal upheaval.

Mr. Martin is a liberal ; and he advocates that those who blieve in the priceless heritage of human freedom handed down to us through liberal ideals and institutions, should defend them against the present-day revolutionary agitations. At the same time, Mr. Martin is not an advocate of *status quo*, but he believes that effective and necessary changes in the social order should be brought about through peaceful means, changes in ideals and through educative processes. One may not agree with him in all the conclusions arrived at by this study, yet it must be recognised that the work is thought-provoking and a substantial contribution to history and sociology.

II

In his latest work—"Leaders, Dreamers and Rebels"—Rene Fulop-Miller, the brilliant author of "The Power and Secret of Jesuits," etc., presents a history of evolution of modern civilization in a most interesting form. The guiding idea of this eminent scholar is that all revolutions and changes in the social order are brought about primarily through the force of "ideas and dreams" of leaders and rebels. He smashes the doctrine of "materialistic conception of history" to bits. In this respect, he is supported by Dr. Martin in his work "Farewell to Revolution." The main thesis of the book [1] is:—

> Material and spiritual causes determine a large part but not all, of human history. There is a third force, everlastingly at work, deciding human fate quite as much do material necessity and spiritual conception, I refer to the power of dreams.

It is a masterly work, giving scholarly account of all important factors and forces in the history of evolution of modern civilization. Fear of the Devil or evil forces, influence of the idea of virtue, faith in beneficent Providence wishing for the welfare of the people, ideas of Rights of Man and Rationalism, the ideal and emotionalism of "will to power" and the rise of the mass movements and modern dictatorship. This book may, in a sense, be termed as an account of history of philosophy of social changes. The author has tried to fathom philosophical backgrounds of social theories and changes during various periods of the history of civilization.

Discussing the trend of present-day tendencies of modern civilisation, he points out that while Karl Marx's philosophy has become the foundation of communism in Russia, one may claim that the philosophy of

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[1] Rene Fulop-Miller, Leaders, Dreamers and Rebels. New York. The Viking Press. 1935, pp. 464. Price 5.00.

Nietzsche, Bergson and Sorel are the foundations of new revolutions with Fascist tendencies of the present era. He writes:—" *This new revolution quoted Nietzsche, Bergson, as the earlier one had quoted Descartes, Voltaire and Rousseau; the articles of its faith were no longer "reason" and "nature," but " will " and " force "* (p. 394).

Nietzsche's "will to power" and " super-man," Sorel's supremacy of force, Bergson's intuitionism, pragmatism, the mysticism of action, and unqualified voluntarism are the foundations of Fascism. While the leaders of French Revolution and even the Communist Revolution in Russia had " Reason, Liberty and Universal Happiness " as their goal, Fascism demands Discipline, Hierarchy, and authority in their place. " *Whereas Bolshevism proclaims the mass-man in the name of machinery. Fascism insists that in the age of the machine, demands, before everything else, " the dominion of the elect " instead of " the dominion of the masses "* (p. 405).

What is the difference between Fascism and National Socialism? *Whereas Mussolini regards the will as the creative force whose mission is to produce the new form of Gestalt " of the nation, Hitler looks upon Race as the creative principle which will restore a living form (Gestalt) to the German nation, now disintegrated by the pursuit of amorphous abstractions......Fascism is based upon the primacy of Will ; National Socialism, on the other hand, is founded upon the primacy of Blood..."* (pp 408-409).

In this connection, it is well to remember that the Dictators of the type of Stalin, Mussolini, Hitler, Mustapha Kemal are not merely usurpers ; but they are accepted leaders of the respective peoples, because their will represent the hidden desire of the people and represent the will of their epochs. The author tries to interpret the new outlook in the present-day social order and feels that these changes and desires for changes are the outcome of the inner urge of the people, of the present era, for the guidance of society by men who can wield power for some great idea and assume tremendous responsibility. This spirit of the new era is not confined to Europe ; but it has given expressions through such great dreamers and leaders as Mustapha Kemal of Turkey who advocates that " the nation comes first—then Allah, in the dream of Sri Aurobindo Ghosh of India who believes that "the Elite of a race can impose itself as a ruling class" and that the New India must awaken its nationalist force regardless of consideration as to the happiness of the masses (p. 422), in the teachings of the late Sun Yat Sen of China who acknowledged " invincible inequality among human beings, while preaching people's nationalism, people's sovereignty and people's welfare.

The author is a philosopher ; he is apparently neither a liberal, nor a communist, nor a fascist. He is not upset by the new tendencies of the modern civilization but philosophically recognise them. He recognises that even in human folly there is the germ of human greatness :

" *In man's great wish-dreams, the kinship between wisdom and folly remains alive, and the history of the attempt to realize these wish-dreams bears witness to the greatness of our race......*"

Here is then the synthesis of the evolution of modern civilization which is the product of human wisdom and human folly. Revolutions may be acts of folly in themselves; but they are parts of human progress which is not finally determined by any definite form, but is in the state of flux and eternal change and transformation.

At Home and Abroad

Czechoslovakia's Policy.

The following extracts are quoted from the speech of Dr. Benes, President of the Republic :—

Czechoslovakia in situated—in the true sense of the word—in the heart of Europe, in close proximity to three of the Great Powers of Europe, at the crossroads of three European cultures and therefore of three trends of political expansion, she is the most westerly of the smaller countries of Central Europe, while of all the Slavonic peoples the Czechoslovaks are the furthest advanced towards the West. From the political, cultural and geographical standpoints we are a much exposed State, but precisely for that reason of immense importance, and indeed an indispensable State for the equilibrium of Europe. In this connection Bismarck was right when he declared that "the master of Bohemia is the master of Europe" at any rate if this master were a strong Great Power. Czechoslovakia does not intend to get into the hand of any Great Power, she simply desires to fulfil her European, that is, her peace mission—the mission for which her situation in Europe and her character predestine her.

For this reason the first pillar of her peace policy has always been, and will always continue to be, the *League of Nations* as the expression and the agent of the policy of peace and of European collaboration, as the focus of the policies that seek mutual agreement and equilibrium among the Great Powers, and as a guarantee of the position and influence of the smaller States and nations.

For this reason the policy of the *Little Entente* has been, and will continue to be, the *second* pillar of Czechoslovakia's peace policy. Rumania and Yugoslavia, too, find themselves in close proximity to three Great Powers who have interests in Central Europe and who on that account could easily come into conflict from which our three States might suffer. The *Little Entente* desires now to take up consciously those European and peace tasks which Austria, Hungary should have fulfilled of old, and in which the Little Entente now wishes to co-operate with Austria and with Hungary. For this reason the constellation of the *Little Entente* is permanent, immovable, and will become stronger with the lapse of time.

For this reason Czechoslovakia has finally sought a *third* pillar of support for her policy—*in those States that comprehend and would be willing to support this European policy of hers, that would help us to carry the policy through and would enable us to preserve the new status in Central Europe, and by ensuring us peace for long into the future, give us the opportunity in some 40 to 50 years of consolidating our State, of building up its international position, of solving its inner political, social economic, national and administrative problems—in short, an opportunity for definitive consolidation and for making adequate preparation for any and every development in Europe.*

That—and nothing else—is our real orientation, and therefore there can be no question of any change in our point of view. Every country that will help us in this, or at least be no hindrance to us therein, will be our friend, and possibly our ally, no matter what State or what nation it may be.

Everyone knows that in the opinion of the overwhelming majority of our people these opportunities are given us through our collaboration with France. We have therefore built them up into a system. It stands to reason that the Balkan Entente is also a pillar of support for our policy, for it is natural that the friends of our friends are our friends too. Finally, for that reason, we have sought co-operation with those others who are ready to respect and support the interests and needs of our State, its integrity and its undisturbed development for the future.

Our attention has always been particularly directed towards four European factors : Poland, Italy, Germany and Soviet Union. Our relations to England have always been flawless, and found their solution in the relations and collaboration that have existed between England and France. We long sought, with loyalty and genuine good will, collaboration with Poland, and then with Italy. I hope, that in the course of the further European development we shall come together again with those countries. We succeeded in this in 1934 and 1935 as regards the Soviet Union. In doing so we accomplished a good work for the maintenance of peace in Western and Eastern Europe—we had no other aims in that connection. All the fantastic rumours of what is going on between us and Moscow are tendentious inventions. The deductions that we have become the instrument of Communist politics in Europe are simply ridiculous. I have already explained at Liberec why Communism has no foothold and can have no success amongst us.

Italy snd Unemployment

It is not only in one country that unemployment has disastrous effect but even countries enjoying the benefits of full liberty are not free from it. Various methods are suggested to check this international cancer. To combat this deadly disease fascist Italy has adopted the following measures which may be followed by many with equal advantage :—

The struggle of Fascism against unemployment is, in its most important and determinate aspect, similar to the action taken in favour of the reorganisation and development of production.

In so far as unemployment, as a stable phenomenon, is due to a crisis in the capitalist system, Fascism retains that its complete elemination is subordinated to the creation of a new economic system which regulates production on a basis no longer individual and fragmentary, but social and organised.

Although this new system was already organised in Italy, Fascism did not neglect, and does not neglect to take suitable measures for reducing the proportions of the phenomenon.

Up to the present, these measures have had a distinct but converging purpose : that of creating new possibilities of work and that of dividing these possibilities among the largest number of workers.

The most important manifestation of the measures which aim at the first purpose is that of the public works promoted by the Fascist Government.

In regard to these, it should be noted that, although the primary aim was to give occupation to unemployed workers, the public works that were put into execution were designed in accordance with an organised plan for completing the necessary endowment (roads, aqueducts, land reclamation, etc.) for the economic life of a great modern nation.

It may be said therefore that Fascism, in constructing the plants necessary to the new Italy, adopted the potential force of national labour in a period of crisis, that is to say, in a period when it would have been necessary to maintain the unemployed with a financial charge equal, perhaps, to that which was needed for employing them in a constructional work which has increased the wealth of the Nation.

Moreover, it should be remembered that the beneficial influence exercised by public work on unemployment, has spread also to those productive sectors which it has, indirectly, set in motion.

As already noted, Fascism was not limited, in this field, to the procuerment of new possibilities of work, but was extended also to the distribution of the work at disposal and daily increasing among a larger number of workers.

The attainment of the latter aim was naturally entrusted to the syndical organisations or corporations into which both employers and workers are grouped, which have therefore a practical possibility of defining and regulating their reciprocal relations.

The results may be seen in the interconfederal agreements stipulated in October 1934 by the National Confederations of Workers and the National Confederations of Employers, for each sector of production.

These agreements for the industrial sectors fix the forty hours per week system of work, abolish, as a general rule, all overtime work, the reduction of female and child labour and the organisation of a "Casa Nationale per assegni famigliari" (National Family Fund) which completes the wages of the workers with large families who are working on reduced time.

The agreements regarding other sectors, although differing in their technical features, aim at facilitating the absorption of workers.

What results have been attained by the measures referred to?

Primarily, they have arrested the increase of unemployment and, moreover, have enabled many of the unemployed to return to work. In the industrial field alone, the application of the forty hours a week system has made it possible to employ over 200 thousand extra men who were out of work.

Of the two principal forms of action undertaken by Fascism for reducing and checking unemployment while waiting for the phenomenon to be permanently eliminated by means of a new economic system, we must not forget to mention the Employment Offices established on a dual basis, that is to say, with an equal number of representatives of workers and employers, which have been organised and placed under the control of the Corporative State, where the unemployed must register and where the employers must apply for taking on the workers they need.

By means of these offices, which accelerate and simplify the necessary action for reabsorbing the unemployed, the State verifies and controls the phenomenon of unemployment.

Naturally, it cannot be excluded that, despite these different measures, there still remains an ebb and flow of unemployed. Fascism has attempted also to decrease the painful effects of their condition by providing for their assistance which is carried out by the respective syndical organisations in conjunction with the measures taken by the Party for the benefit of the unemployed. Fascism has also regulated insurance against involuntary unemployment.

By means of a small compulsory payment—which varies according to the wage, and ranges from a minimum of 70 centimes to a maximum of 2·10 lire every fortnight—on the part of employers and workers—a saving fund is thus formed and is used for the benefit of the workers in case of eed.

Federal Court of India

It is understood that the Hon. Sir B. L. Mitter, a former Law Member of the Government of India, and now a Member of the Bengal Governor's Executive Council, has been offered and has accepted the important office of Advocate-General of the Federal Court.

The question of the composition of the Federal Court is still the subject of correspondence between Delhi and Whitehall.

Sir Maurice Gwyer, one of the principal law officers of the Crown who took a prominent part in drafting the Indian Constitution Act of 1935, is mentioned as the most likely choice for the post of Chief Justice of the Federal Court.

The other two judges of the Federal Court will be a Hindu and a Muslim. Among the Hindus the chances of Sir Shadi Lal and Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer are the subject of speculation and among the Muslims the names of Sir Abdul Quadir and Sir Muhammad Suleiman are mentioned.

In view, however, of the fact that both Sir Shadi Lal and Sir Abdul Quadir have had a long spell of office and have worked strenuously for many years, the choice may fall on Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer and Sir Muhammad Suleiman.

No definite decision has yet been reached, but in view of the fact that the Federal Court must come into being by October, 1937, the authorities would make up their mind shortly on the final selection of the personnel for the Court.

German Youth Organisations

All German youth, boys and girls alike, are organised to-day in the Hitler Youth, which is playing a new important role, alongside the schools, in education. The Hitler Youth has, in addition, a definite political and legal status, for it is from its ranks that important posts in new Germany will, eventually be recruited. It is in the Hitler Youth that they receive their first training; it is, so to say, the nursery of the party. One of its most remarkable aspects may be found in the precept laid down for it by Hitler himself, "Youth must be led by youth," and this still holds good to-day.

Now youth can lead itself only if it is given full responsibility for its own affairs, and such responsibility is necessarily limited by parental and school control: but more than a colour of it is imparted to youth in the Hitler Jugend. In this great organisation, youth is actually led by youth. The great importance given to this youth leadership by the German state found its final expression in the appointment of a Youth Leader for the whole of Germany, who is possessed of considerable powers.

Hitler, when he became Chancellor of Germany, found himself instantly in possession of means to make his will carried out throughout the country and outside the bounds of his own party. The Youth Leader, whom he shortly afterwards appointed, found himself at that time in no such happy position. There had not previously existed a state department concerning itself with the organisation and leadership of the young, and the appointment of the Youth Leader of the Party to State Youth Leader was carried out according to programme. The legal and constitutional situation thus created seemed at first to be a little equivocal, and it remained to be seen whether this office could, by the Fuhrer's act, be made actually into a state authority. The position of an official of state was vested in the person of the Youth Leader, and his first action was to stamp out organised political elements among German youngsters.

The position of the Youth Leader depends more upon the personal confidence of the Fuhrer than upon any formalised powers. The personality of Baldur von Schirach, in this capacity, has already welded German *youth* and the National Socialist party into an indivisible unity. There is no doubt that the Hitler Youth is strong enough to fulfil its task of educating the young in the way they should go, and it lacks neither the enthusiasm nor the courage to tread its appointed path.

League of Nation's New Council Hall

The new Council Hall of the League of Nations was inaugurated on October 2nd with M. Rivas Vicuña (Chile) presiding at the opening of the Council's ninety-fourth session.

The Council, he said, had for seventeen years been a wanderer. It had met in famous palaces, in the splendour of hotel lounges, in temporary constructions which were useful but uninspiring. He hoped that in occupying its permanent home it would cease to be spiritually or materially a stranger in a strange land.

The room which would be the permanent home of the Council, he said, was well fitted for the purpose and worthy of the ideal of the League. It was one thing to construct a serviceable Council chamber, but another to give it beauty. The Council chamber was given a special character by the gift of wall paintings of the Spanish Government.

M. Ossorio y Gallardo, speaking on behalf of Spain, presented the paintings, executed by the famous Spanish artist, José Maria Sert. The masterly composition on the ceiling, he explained, represented the immortal figures of the theologians and jurists of Spain of the sixteenth century. These paintings, he said, provided a striking proof of the creative genius of the Spanish people, which was as powerful to-day as it was in the past, a fact which provided " some solace to the Spanish people at this tragic hour of their country's history."

Referring to the fresco on the ceiling, depicting the school of Salamanca, the founders of modern international law, and the mural frescoes showing how mankind had overcome both natural and social scourges of slavery, drudgery and disease, the President suggested that these would provide noble inspirations to the Council. In a striking painting, the artist posed the question, Could not mankind conquer the cruellest scourge of all, namely, war ? Was the answer to be found here ? he asked. Such was the artist's belief; his work was the product of faith, and faith was a fundamental force.

Permanent Court of International Justice

In special simultaneous meetings of the Assembly and the Council held on October 2nd, Professor Manley O. Hudson and Dr. Ake Hammarskjöld were elected to membership on the Permanent Court of International Justice to fill the vacancies created by the death of M. Walter Schücking and by the resignation of Mr. Frank B. Kellogg.

In a separate election on the same day, M. Cheng Tien-Hsi was also elected to fill the vacancy caused by the death of M. Wang Chung-Hui.

Judge Hudson has had a distinguished career in the legal profession. Having been a professor of law at Missouri and later at Harvard University, he was attached to the American Commission to negotiate peace in Paris in 1919 and has acted as legal adviser at various international conferences. He has been a member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration since 1933, and has published numerous works on the codification of international law and on the operation of the Permanent Court.

Judge Hammarskjöld, born in Sweden in 1893, was formerly member of the Legal Section of the League Secretariat, and since 1922 was Registrar of the Permanent Court of International Justice. He has had the rank of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of his country, was a member of the Institute of International Law, and is the author of various legal publications.

Judge Cheng, born in China in 1884, studied law at the University of London, where he obtained a degree of Docter of Laws in 1915. From 1920 to 1925 he was a judge of the Supreme Court of China. He later became acting Minister of Justice of the Nanking Government. In 1935 he was appointed to the International Congress on the Unification of Penal Law held in Copenhagen. He is the author of several works relating to international law and court decisions.

News and Views.

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions events and movements in India and outside.]

Benares Hindu University

The last camp of the University Training Corps battalion was held at Lucknow from November 1st to 15th. In spite of the uniformly brilliant record of the University Training Corps the strength of the corps is limited to a detachment of three platoons only. Like the other universities this university has not got even one full company. In bare justice, it is high time for the authorities to raise the strength of the corps and at least put it on a level of equality with the other universities.

Aligarh Muslim University

The Muslim University Radio Exchange has now been installed and half a dozen Loudspeakers have been set up in different hostels and it is expected that each Hostel will soon have a Loudspeaker to hear the Radio Programme.

A Programme Committee has been formed consisting of the members of the staff and the students to fix the programme which the University Radio Exchange take from Delhi and other centres. The University Radio Exchange will also be used for important University items and occasional lectures.

Patna University

His Excellency the Chancellor has nominated the Hon, Mr. Justice Saiyid Fazl Ali to be a Fellow of the Senate of the Patna University, *vice* Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, who is now a Fellow *ex-officio* as the Vice-Chancellor of the University.

Annamalai University

The Syndicate of the Annamalai University have unanimously decided that Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri should act as Officiating Vice-Chancellor during the absence in connection with the Malayan Deputation of the Rt. Hon. V. S. S. Sastri for the next three months.

Delhi University

At a meeting of the Executive Council of the Delhi University held at New Delhi, on the 21st November, it was resolved by 12 to 7 votes to recommend to His Excellency the Chancellor to reappoint Rai Bahadur Ramkishore, present Vice-Chancellor, for a further term of two years. Mr. Shivnarain, Advocate, Delhi, was the rival candidate.

Inter-University Board

Whether some measure of uniformity in respect of the conditions under which candidates who appear for Matriculation or admission examinations as private candidates is not disirable will be one of the questions discussed at the ensuing meeting of the Inter-University Board to come off on the 17th February next at Nagpur.

At this meeting will also be considered the Sapru Committee Report regarding the teaching of law in the Universities and teaching of commercial subjects and the imparting of industrial and technical education and the nature of research work to be done.

The Board will also discuss the question of recognition of the degrees of Australian Universities by Indian Universities. The recommendation of the University of Bombay for securing better recognition for the examinations and degrees of Indian Universities from the Universities of Great Britain and Ireland and other Universities in the British Empire is another subject which will be dealt with.

Among other subjects put down for discussion, are the recommendation of the Judges for the award of the prizes for the best contribution on the abolition of child marriages in India from among those selected by the Universities in India in connection with the competition held by the Indian Village Welfare Association, London; consideration of the letter from the Principal of Agricultural Institute, Allahabad, forwarded by the Aligarh University regarding the question of having reciprocal arrangement with foreign Universities that recognise the academic qualifications of Indian students who have studied in Indian institutions and admit London students to their courses of study and grant degrees to successful candidates; and the desirability of instituting degree or diploma in Pharmaceutical Chemistry and moving the Government of India to take steps so that only persons possessing such diplomas or degrees or master's degree in chemistry (pure and applied) or any other higher qualifications may be appointed as Pharmaceutical Chemists in any manufacturing firm.

Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University

Mr. K. Sahabuddin, Treasurer of Dacca University, Chairman of the Dacca District Board, and for some time a member of the Bengal Governor's Executive Council, has been appointed Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University for one month commencing from November 19 during the absence on leave of Mr. A. F. Rahman, the permanent incumbent.

Agra University

Principal Chatterjee made a proposal recently in the executive council of the Agra University to confer the honorary degree of Doctor of Science on Sir Jwala prosad Srivastava, although the subject was not on the agenda. Previous notice was not given probably because it was feared that the notice might create trouble like that at the Lucknow University. Despite this, the feeling was expressed that there were persons more deserving than the one named in the motion. The proposal was adopted only when Sir Sita Ram's name was added.

Lucknow University

A special meeting of the Lucknow University Court was held on November 17, under the chairmanship of Dr. R. P. Paranjpye to consider the resolution of the Academic Council and the Executive Council of the Lucknow University conferring the honorary degree of Doctorate on Sir J. P. Srivastava, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and Rai Rajeswar Bali. The resolution was formally proposed and seconded by Professors Sidhanta and Sahni respectively without any speeches in support. Dr. Paranjpye made a long speech after the formal proposal in support of the resolution. The arguments advanced were of the same variety as were advanced in the meeting of the Executive Council.

Thereafter the original resolution was put to the vote and passed by a majority.

U. P. Education Board

The Board of High School and Intermediate Education, United Provinces, had before it at its annual meeting held at Allahabad, November 19, the recommendations, of the U. P. Unemployment Committee to record its opinion thereon. The Board appointed a sub-committee, with Prof. Amarnatha Jha as convener, to examine the Unemployment Committee's recommendations. Among the members of the sub-committee are Dr. Higginbottom, Mr. Hira Lal Khanna and Miss Willlams.

Prof. Amarnatha Jha was also elected to represent the Board on the Unemployment Board appointed by the Government of the United Provinces.

Mr. N. K. Sidhanta and Pandit Amarnatha Jha were re-elected as the Board's representatives on the Senate of the Agra University.

Education in Hyderabad Reorganization Proposals

The following is a summary of the report of the sub-committee on the re-organization of education in the Hyderabad state, as amended and approved by the general committee, together with the recommendations of the executive council and His Exalted Highness's *firman* thereon:—

The main object of the present scheme of educational reconstruction is to effect, as far as possible, a practical solution of the problem of unemployment by a readjustment of the educational system by providing different types of training for students of varied aptitudes and requirements. It has long been felt that a large number of pupils are tempted unduly to prolong their purely literary studies and that, as a result, they become averse to practical pursuits and occupations.

STAGES OF EDUCATION.

The present scheme of reconstruction, therefore, provides for the following stages of education, each with a definite aim:—

(1) *The Primary Stage.*—This will last for five years and will aim at providing the minimum of general education and training required to ensure

permanent literacy. Pupils who complete this course satisfactorily, will receive a departmental certificate.

(2) *The Secondary and Vocational Stage.*—This will provide a self-contained course of general education but will also constitute a suitable foundation for higher education. At this stage, facilities will also be provided for the educational training of boys with practical aptitudes who wish to proceed beyond the primary stage but have no literary bent. The secondary and vocational stage will last for four years. At the end of this stage candidates will undergo their first public examination.

(3) *The High and Technical Stage.*—This will include institutions, with varying lengths of courses, for (*a*) preparing students for admission to the university; (*b*) clerical training ; (*c*) agricultural training ; and (*d*) training in technical subjects.

At the end of this stage, there will be public examinations, certifying completion of clerical, agricultural or technical training or fitness to proceed to the university, as the case may be.

(4) *The University Stage.*—This will last three years, unbroken by an ' intermediate ' examination.

H. E. H.'s Government has no intention to restrict educational facilities as such. On the contrary, the aim is to provide additional facilities with the object of ensuring that pupils who have acquired a suitable minimum of general education will be capable of receiving training of a practical and vocational type for which facilities will be provided as fast as funds become available.

STATE CONTROL.

An important feature of the scheme is that it brings all education in the state under the control of the state. A great majority of witnesses who appeared before the educational reorganization committee recommended that the control which the Madras University now exercised over secondary and university education in his Exalted Highness the Nizam's dominions should cease. They were practically unanimous in urging that the state should control its own educational system. As the authors of the scheme say, ' The educational system and courses of study of every state should be devised with special reference to the need and conditions of its own people.'

THE MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION.

Public men of all communities supported this view, some on condition that English is retained as the medium of instruction in the Nizam College.

This committee have not proposed any change in the policy of Government regarding the medium of instruction and his Exalted Highness' Government will adhere to that policy. The mother-tongue of the pupils will continue to be the medium of instruction at the primary stage and steps will be taken to ensure its due observance. At the secondary stage Urdu will continue to be the medium of instruction, but, as hitherto, the Education Department will, in particular cases, sanction the use of English as the medium. At the university stage, Urdu will be the medium of instruction, except in the Nizam College, where English will continue to be the medium as hitherto.

A STATUTORY BOARD.

In order to enlist the active co-operation of educationists and of laymen interested in education a statutory board of secondary education is being established. This board will supervise the courses of study and system of public examinations in secondary, vocational, high and technical schools. The constitution of the board provides for the representation of all interests, including the university, schools, commerce, industry, agriculture, the co-operative department, aided schools and the general public. Special representation is given to women in order that their voice may be heard in matters concerning the education of girls.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S DECISION.

The report was after circulation considered at a meeting of the executive council and it was resolved—

That the report submitted by the sub-committee be approved and submitted for sanction to his Exalted Highness the Nizam with the following reservations :—

(1) That the affiliation of the Nizam College with the Madras University be continued for the time being.

(2) A representative of the public works department be added to the members of the board of education. This representative will be nominated by the Hon. Member for public works department in consultation with the chief engineer.

(3) Members of the public be also included amongst those members who are to be nominated to the board of education under sub-section (*g*) of Appendix D of the report.

The board should try to ascertain public opinion before submitting any proposals. After the completion of every five years, a critical review of the same be submitted to Government.

In a *firman* his Exalted Highness was graciously pleased to command that the 'scheme submitted by the sub-committee with the reservations proposed by the executive council is approved.'

Miscellany

EXPANSION OF COTTON FARMING IN SIND.

One of the main features of agricultural development in Sind since the opening of the Lloyd Barrage and Canal Systems in 1932 has been the rapid and extensive increase in cotton cultivation. The average acreage under cotton in Sind for the five-year period prior to the Barrage, was slightly over 300,000 acres. The acreage under cotton in recent years is given below :—*

1932-33	... 341,400 acres
1933-34	... 518,400 ,,
1934-35	... 676,200 ,,
1935-36	... 791,400 ,,

A notable feature of this increase in cotton cultivation is the great extension in the cultivation of long- and medium-staple American cotton, especially in the Thar and Parkar district. Prior to the introduction of perennial irrigation, the cultivation of this type of cotton in Sind was negligible, whereas in the current season, 1935-36, approximately one half of the total Sind crop consists of American types of cotton. The Indian Central Cotton Committee, Bombay, has contributed large grants for research and extension work on cotton cultivation in Sind. At the Committee's Technological Laboratory, Matunga, spinning and fibre tests on improved Sind cottons are carried out annually, the results of which are extremely valuable to the scientific research workers on the botanical improvement of the crop. A Cotton Technological Assistant at the Agricultural Research Station, Sakrand, has been provided by the Central Cotton Committee for fibre examination, etc., of improved strains of cotton evolved at the Station. A Sind Cotton Committee, consisting of both officials and non-officials, has been established to advise and assist in the future development of cotton cultivation in the Barrage areas. Scientific research work on cotton improvement is being carried on by the Agricultural Department in Sind at Sakrand and Mirpurkhas and organised schemes for seed multiplication and extension of improved cottons are being carried out in the districts. A Government Ginning Factory has been established at Mirpurkhas.

(*a*) *Botanical research work on cotton improvement.*—Botanical research work on the cotton crop of Sind is carried on mainly at the Agricultural Research Station, Sakrand, and to a lesser degree, at the Government Seed Farm, Mirpurkhas. Scientific work on the Sind *deshi* crop has resulted in the evolution, by botanical selection, of the improved Sind *deshi* strain of cotton known as "27 W. N." or Sind N. R. This selected strain is superior to the local *deshi* crop in yield and ginning percentage and has a bright colour and rough feel which renders it very useful for certain trade purposes, *e.g.*, mixing with wool. The staple is extremely short (about

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* Published by the Agricultural Department in Sind (Karachi, 1936).

3/8″—4/8″). There does not appear to be any prospect of obtaining a better type of Sind *deshi* cotton by botanical work on the ordinary *deshi* crop. Numerous other *deshi* types of cotton have been imported into Sind from other cotton-growing tracts of India, but, after trial, have all been found inferior and less suitable for Sind conditions than the improved Sind N. R. mentioned above.

With regard to American cottons, botanical selection from Punjab-American types has resulted in the evolution of three improved strains, specially suited for Sind conditions. These are 'Sind Sudhar' (289F-I) Sind 4F-98 and Sind 285F-2. These improved strains have been selected as showing hardiness and disease and insect resistance, under Sind conditions, and show definite improvement in staple length over the bulk Punjab-American crops from which they were evolved by botanical research. They show improvement on these original cottons in yield and are equal to them in ginning percentage. They vary in staple length from 1″ to 1·1/16″ (Sind Sudhar and Sind 285F-2) to 15/16″ (Sind 4F-98). The 285F-2 is an earlier cotton than the other selected varieties. At present, this work is being continued and new selections of 289F and 4F types are being tested which show promise of further improvement. With regard to 'quality' cottons, *i.e.*, imported Sea Island and Egyptian varieties, two improved strains suitable for Sind conditions, *viz*, Sind Sea Island 2-4 and Boss III-16 have been evolved in the Botanical Section. These cottons have a staple length of 1·1/4″-1·1/2″ and possess hardiness under Barrage conditions of cultivation. Many other imported cottons from America and Egypt have been tested at Sakrand, but none of these have given satisfactory results or were superior to the strains evolved by botanical selection from material previously imported. The Sudan cottons which were tried proved too late maturing for Sind conditions. At present, certain imported strains of American cottons of the American Upland type are under test and some of these may prove useful. Hybridization of Punjab-American cottons with imported American varieties has been carried out, but all the hybrid types, except one, were rejected as unsuitable. The hybrid, which has been retained for further botanical work, is a cross between Punjab 4F and Meade, four strains of which offer promising material for further development and have now been fixed as pure lines. They are under trial with ordinary improved Sind-American cottons in the Botanical Section area and, on a small scale, in the cotton-growing districts.

(b) *Physiological research work on cotton in Sind.*—The Physiological Section at the Agricultural Research Station, Sakrand, was established in 1927 and is financed by grants from the Indian Central Cotton Committee, Bombay. The Section has been carrying out scientific research work on physiological problems of the cotton crop under conditions of perennial irrigation in Sind. The major problems investigated include the optimum sowing date for various varieties of cotton under Barrage conditions, the irrigation requirements and distribution programme for the cotton crop in Sind, varietal development studies, preliminary work on the nature and causative factors of 'red leaf' phenomenon on Sind-American cotton and problems connected with the development of sound seed in the Sind cotton crop. Work on sowing date and irrigation problems has been completed, but further scientific research work on other physiological problems is being continued. In addition, the Physiological Section has carried on research on minor lines of work, *e.g.*, control of white ants in cotton crops, manurial requirements of the cotton plant at different stages of growth, etc. The work of the Physiological Section of the Agricultural Research Station, Sakrand, will terminate in March 1937, when the grants given by the Indian Central Cotton Committee for the Sind Cotton Physiological Research Scheme cease. After that date there will be no provision for further work on physiological problems of the cotton crop in Sind. The Physiological Section has established and maintained a very useful and up-to-date Meteorological Observatory at Sakrand.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

PROPERTY RIGHTS OF INDIAN WOMEN

A memorandum on the Status of Indian women has been submitted to the League of Nations by the All-India Women's Conference and the Women's Indian Association. The property rights of the Indian women as described in the memorandum are indicated below:

I. HINDU LAW

There is a diversity of interpretation of Hindu law with the result that there is no uniform system throughout the country. The two main subdivisions are known as the *Dayabhag* which holds sway in Bengal, and the *Mitakshara* which appiles to the rest of India. The joint family forms the nucleus of Hindu society, and property rights are based on it. The system has outlived its utility and a recent Act called the "gains of Science Act" has accelerated its destruction but the position of the women even under this is far from satisfactory.

STRIDHAN OR WOMEN'S PROPERTY

Under Hindu law women have no absolute rights of property except in certain specific cases of *Stridhan* known as *Saudayik*. This means that if property is willed to her or gifted to her or is the result of her own earning before marriage, she has absolute rights of disposal, but if this accrues to her after marriage, even if it is her own earnings, she cannot dispose of it without her husband's consent.

RIGHTS AS A DAUGHTER

Only amongst those who are governed by the Mayukh School in parts of Bombay a daughter has absolute rights of property left by her father. Apart from this, Hindu law allows an unmarried daughter only bare maintenance and marriage expenses from the joint family property provided she lives in it. If the property is divided then one-fourth of the share of the sons is kept in trust for her marriage expenses. Under *Dayabhag* law the daughter inherits only if there are no sons or widows alive. A married daughter inherits under this law if she has children and if no sons, grandsons and unmarried daughters are alive. Under *Mitakshara* law the position is worse as due to the system of survivorship the property reverts to coparceners if there are no male issue.

RIGHTS OF WIVES AND WIDOWS

As a wife a Hindu woman has subordinate co-ownership in her husband's property. Except in the case of *Saudayik Stridhan* a husband has certain rights in his wife's property but she can claim back all *Stridhan* if he refuses to maintain her or desert her. A widow's rights are very precarious. Under all schools of Hindu law, if she has sons, she has only the right of bare maintenance unless a property is divided, when she gets a share but only a limited right over it. Under the *Dayabhag* School if a widow has no sons she is given a life-interest over all her husband's property. But she cannot sell or give away his property except under certain cases known as legal necessities. Again, due to the system of survivorship the widow like the daughter does not inherit under *Mitakshara* law even if she has no sons. There is one grave injustice under Dayabhag law. A son's childless widow is not even entitled to bare maintenance ; and with no rights either in her husband's or her father's home her lot can be, and sometimes is, most pitiable and tragic.

If a woman marries again or loss of chastity can be legally proved against her, she loses whatever rights accrue to her in regard to property she may have inherited before her marriage or as a gift from her sons.

II. ISLAMIC LAW

Women have far more equitable rights in regard to property. Although a daughter is not given an equal share she is given a definite share over her father's property. A widow gets an absolute share over her husband's property. Both according to *Shiah* and *Hanifi* laws a woman possesses property and has absolute ownership over it. The daughter, widow, mother, sister and even aunt are all recognised as heirs along with men and have fixed and definite shares. A daughter gets half of a son's share, but if there is no son she gets half-a-share. A wife gets one-eighth and one-fourth share if there is a child or a son's child. A mother gets one-sixth share if there is a child, otherwise one-third share in her son's property. Even the son's daughter and grand-daughters have definite shares and are known as residuary sharers if the parents are alive.

A great anomaly arises in India, because many Muslim communities specially in the Punjab, Kathiawar, and Gujarat, are ruled by customary law and so the women do not get the benefits of Islamic law regarding property.

II. PARSI LAW.

The Parsi law is fairly liberal to women. A woman is an absolute owner of property she inherits. If a daughter inherits from her father or male relatives she gets one-fourth share of her brother, but if from her mother or other female relatives she is entitled to equal share with her brothers.

IV. MATRIARCHAL SYSTEM IN MALABAR (SOUTHERN INDIA)

Here also the joint family system holds sway, but instead of a patriarchal descent property descends through the mother. Sons and daughters both receive the property of their maternal grandfathers and uncles, but children have no rights in their own father's property. Recently the Travancore State has passed a law by which this system based on the joint family has been discarded. But it still holds sway in the Royal Family of that State, and in all parts of British Malabar. Due to this system women have always held, since time immemorial, a remarkably high position in society and the percentage of educated and literate women is far higher here than in the rest of India. The defect in the system is, that, being based on the joint family system, it has its attendant evils and consequently with the disintegration of the joint family it is also changing.

V. Indian Succession Act

This Act came into force in 1925. Under it women have equal rights of property with men and a daughter gets an equal share with the son. A widow is entitled to one-third share of the husband's property but receives a one-half share if he has left no children and the whole of his property goes to her if there are no kindred. This should be noted as under the English law to-day a widow does not get more than one-half of her husband's estate even if there are no kindred, as under these circumstances, the other half reverts to the Crown. This Act at present applies only to those who come under the Special Marriage Act and to Indian Christians. Its application to the Hindu and Muslim communities would perhaps be the easiest way of obtaining legal equality for women. It must be noted that an anomaly arises in the case of the Brahmos who although they are married under the Special Marriage Act are guided according to the rulings of the codes by orthodox Hindu law regarding succession and property and so do not derive the benefits of the Indian Succession Act.

Benoy Kumar Sarkar

BRITISH AIDS TO AGRICULTURE, 1919-1931.

Sympathetic attitudes of governments toward agriculture are to be found in nearly every country on the European continent, although only a few of them have embarked on such elaborate projects of an *economie dirigée* as one sees in Germany. Even leading exporting countries Denmark and Holland with their strong tradition of free trade, have rigid national schemes of control. It is not without interest to investigate what has happened to agriculture under such an environment as that of the United Kingdom, the last castle of liberal economic policies and free trade.

In 1931 there existed only 468,000 agricultural holdings of all sizes in England, Wales and Scotland. Of a total population of 46,000,000 there were 21,000,000 gainfully employed. Of this number 1,194,000 were gainfully employed in agriculture, 829,000 as workers and less than 300,000 as farmers. The farm income of some £ 240,000,000 represented in 1930 about 5·4 per cent. of the national income. Before the war nearly 90 per cent. of the agricultural acreage was operated under lease. In 1925 home production of foodstuff which can normally be produced in the country, amounted to the following percentages of the total consumption of these items: wheat flour 15·0, meat 44·3, poultry and eggs 49·8, dairy produce 48·7, vegetables and potatoes 70·3, fruits 44·0. The rest had to be imported. In 1934 the value of the imports into the

United Kingdom of agricultural produce which could be raised at home amounted to no less than £ 279,000,000, while the value of the domestic agricultural and horticultural output was estimated at £ 215,000,000, thus the larger part of the population lives on the industry of foreign farmers. These figures indicate how far England's industrial progress and dominant position in world trade have pushed her agriculture into the background of the economic system.

As long as the era of free trade lasted the prevailing trends led clearly away from the maintenance of agriculture as an essential part of the domestic, social or economic system. The necessity for cheap supplies of food without regard to their origin ranked first among the arguments in agrarian disputes. The abandoning of free trade, however, and other changes in the British mentality could not but affect the attitude toward agriculture. The first impulse to protect and redevelop agriculture originated from the experience of a most dangerous food shortage during the submarine war. The Liberal Land Committee, which published its report in 1927, declared that the invention of the submarine and the aeroplane has removed any excuse for relying more largely on imported food than is necessitated by the discrepancy between the population to be fed and the maximum productivity of English agricultural land. Other stimuli to change Great Britain's policy of *laissez faire* toward her declining farm population and shrinking agriculture have been the increasing industrial unemployment and the plight of the farmers under the price collapse of farm products on the world market after 1929.

A review of major events in agricultural policy from the war until 1935 gives the impression that fears concerning the "top-heaviness" of Great Britain's social-economic structure have gained force, but that the country is not willing to do more than establish fair chances for survival for the present farm population. A great respect for the importance of trade interests and of intercourse with the Dominions and Colonies of the empire is to be felt throughout agrarian discussion. Moreover there are hardly any hints of the conviction, now so universal on the European continent, that a broad layer of well-to-do farmers forms the only reliable foundation for the life of a nation.

On the basis of the importance in principle and the efficiency of the measures employed, two periods may be distinguished in post-war agricultural policy; the first runs from the end of the war to 1931, the second from 1931 to the present. In the long stretch from the war through prosperity into the depth of world depression, Parliament and the Government were in sympathy with agriculture and quite willing to grant certain measures in aid of the farmer. But this attitude did not mean a willingness to permit any strong intervention in the markets nor did it involve any thought of abandoning free trade for the sake of the farmer. The initial state of the period saw the liquidation of war economy. The Corn Production Act operated from April, 1917 to June, 1921, and tried to raise the small grain production by a plain subsidy. This Act was not continued but, in 1924, with the British Sugar Act the Government embarked on a similar campaign to increase the domestic output of beet sugar. During a ten-year period the subsidies paid to sugar beet-growers amounted, according to Astor and Murray (*Planning of Agriculture*, Oxford, 1933), to some £ 40,000,000. The Act was to have expired in 1934 but it has been prolonged. Two Agricultural Credit Acts, of 1923 and 1928, have offered beneficial credit facilities, although neither has had much importance because the farmers have not made much use of them. They were intended to provide an opportunity to make improvements or to curtail interest as a cost item, and similar smaller measures have followed the same direction. Two Derating Acts, of 1923 and 1929, have curtailed taxes. The former reduced local rates on farms to a level from a quarter to a half of the ordinary rate, while the latter abolished local rates altogether, with the single exception of the farm dwelling. Another law which tried to reduce a further item in the cost account of the farmer was the Tithe Act of 1925. It relieved the farmer for five years of some of the burden of the old land tax levied for ecclesiastical purposes. It is hardly necessary to mention the numerous little services to agriculture like indirect subsidies for fertilizer and seed purchases or for eradication of certain plant and animal diseases.

Toward the end of this period of what we may describe as incoherent goodwill activities in aid of farmers the government began to study the methods of marketing prevailing in the main commodity markets and to develop suggestions for rationalization. The National Mark and Grading Act gave a legal basis for the standardization and grading of special qualities, and provided official inspection and protection for the standards.

A drastic change set in with 1931 when an active and systematic agricultural policy began the so-called "Elliot revolution." Even this new era, however, was essentially different from the German procedure. In Germany agriculture frequently dominated the economic policy of the nation. In England the phrase "revolution" has significance only in comparison with the mild and lenient course previous to 1931. It has hardly ever been agricultural policy that has acted as the rudder of the British ship. All the measures designed in the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries and passed in Parliament were only secondary parts within a co-ordinated economic policy.—Karl Brandt in *Social Research*.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

The Quest Eternal—by Brajendranath Seal.

The author here attempts what he calls an experiment in poetic art, an expression of a self-conscious philosophy in forms of pure poesy. The philosophy is of cosmic man—of his mystic birth, of his forlorn quest of knowledge and of his redemptive passion. The three stages are depicted in three characteristic styles—the ancient hymns, the medieval ballad and the modern epic.

The *Ancient Hymn* opens with the primal Void-suspiring into a dream, 'a flux that is not and yet doth teem.' The flux sets into mystic symbolism which half reveals itself as Beauty's soul or the coming man. This takes god-like form as the Eternal maid, the Eternal child and the Eternal mother—all vanishing with the advent of the formless God. Heaven and earth in trembling pass away and the Void contracts into a throbbing point, 'a soul in pain.' The soul sees an answering Eye without through viewless hazes and feels it within blinding its mystic sense till it swoons into a lonesome howling infinitude. Presently it finds itself waking in the winklessness of the 'broad open eye' and trancedly watching the dance of Terror and of joy, the world-drift cyclical, the Great Illusion that knows nor love nor hate. The Siren of the skies sings to the dance and the soul that knows her guile yet feels her within as the Siren of the deep, feels 'like a lost young creature, her earth-born lover.'

The Rime of the Wizard Knight is the story of the romantic hopeless love of this hapless soul. The Siren is now the elusive Queen of nymphs and fays dwelling in her magic grotto in the hollow glen, the Destiny of her lover-knight, drawing him at last into this glen after all his wanderings in the search after the secret of life. He had wandered far in his bold quest of Truth, daring the curse that dogs the venture ; he had rent the veil of Nature and peered into the soul's abyss, contemning meek peace and seeking the peace of the seers. But the blighting vision of the naked truth that saves others but cannot save him had turned every thing to naught. Now distraught he prays to the Queen, his Destiny, to take him into the deeps.

A Vision of Psyche presents the knowing soul that is dead waking with the vision of Death as the power in life, tremulous with the one passion for wisdom to master the dark power that frustrates all ideal life, the irresistible stream of tendency. In the quest of wisdom, the soul meditates in a cave on nature and history and finds 'the sovran sway of primal Night' everywhere, of brute matter and blind sense enslaving conscience or the spirit of sacrifices itself. Meditation is palsied and incontinent comes a dream of the God in man, the spirit passion-pale, Prometheus the herald of Psyche and of the great Tribulation too, dream of the tragic dumb opposition of the ideal and the real, whence the maimed soul awakes in reverie to find itself still the king by right, the just man militant, freed from the wheel of law, seeking an inner peace beyond the fates, fighting the world-order not with hate and negation but with the rite of self-purification in life's central fire, no longer daring but vicariously accepting the ancient curse.

Meditation, dream, reverie in the cave now give place to the passion of actual life in death. Death or sense is now in man's conscious self, his 'green life,' 'soul of his soul, locked in a deadly embrace.' He doubts if his passion is for Psyche of deathless love or for the Siren again. In a weird malady, he feels the ages re-passing within him in ghostly mockery. Cupid's carnival passes; Siren-*māyā* revolves in her hand the crystal glove wherein men see the mock Psyche. He for once dares to look beyond and is seized with the frenzy of the ages—the humanistic madness of Lucretius and Dante and Rousseau—whence silently comes a strength of hope, 'a sense of love's vicarious power to bear.' The soul's darkness is relit; vicariously relieving the passion of Humanity, it sees its individual passion sublimated into eternal divine passion. Then a voice is heard;

> ... Prometheus has unbound himself,
> * * *
> Self-dead, self-risen as the world-soul.

The author—philosopher, poet and mystic—muses if perchance the Voice was cosmic, though it might be 'no voucher for an all-Beyond.' His poetic experiment to coin a philosophy into concrete life has been an implicit experiment with his own soul which seems to end in a real experience.

Apparently *The Quest Eternal* is more than a literary performance. Any way, it is a unique work, conceived and executed in the grand style, presenting with an amazing vigour and directness profound insights in vastly allusive imagery.

The last poem in the triology appears to the reviewer less satisfying than the other two in point of artistic unity. That may be because the modern ideal with its surfeit of self-consciousness is less of a spiritual unity than the ideals it has displaced.

K. C. BHATTACHARYYA.

The Case for Faith-healing—by J. D. Beresford, with a preface by the very Rev. H. R. L. Shepherd. George, Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1934, 5s. net.

The age of miracles is not past, nor ever will be: this simple truth has come home to the author in—shall we call it—his ripe age?—rather an advanced stage of life, but none the less it has become a conviction, a conviction that will not let him be at rest with himself, but prompts him to share it with those of the public as care to. In all times and in all ages there have been well-authenticated reports of cures that the science of the day had pronounced incurable; the author was induced to examine the philosophy underlying such cases of successful cure and conditioning them. As a result of his examination he comes to the conclusion "that" the first and only reality is God, immanent and transcendent, that matter is purely the presentation of the spirit in the temporal world, and that communication between matter and spirit is by way of understanding, sympathy and love"—a new trinity, implied in some respects by the old trinity of Christianity! He threshes out the different cases and finds in the long run that love, just as the poets affirmed it, rules the world. The numerous cases of faith-cure, whose authenticity is beyond doubt and dispute but whose explanation may prove difficult to minds obsessed with scientific investigation and the principle of causation, may be understood only by reference to the all-pervading nature of the essence that creates and sustains the universe, defying time and space. Thus Mr. Beresford joins issues with Maeterlinck and exposes the hollowness of the unknown guest portrayed by the great Belgian dramatist. For such a cure, we have to suspend and submit completely our intellectual and critical judgment so that it may not interfere with the process which takes place, but of which we do not know the working. It means no loss of self-respect but an attempt to transcend the limitations of our ordinary self. The book will be caviare to the general reader though not to the ultra-rationalist, and on reading it one feels tempted to concur with the concluding lines of the preface: "not only is it thought-provoking, but it is, in my opinion, a valuable contribution to Truth."

P. R. SEN.

Modern Tendencies in World Religions—by Charles Samuel Braden, PH.D., Geoge Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, £10.

Any one who has watched the current of progressive thought has no difficulty in concluding that we are going the way of 'no religion.' Even popular leaders are asserting that religion obstructs more than it helps. Such being the case, it is no small wonder that an author has found time to write a book on modern tendencies in the different religions of the world.

Science and scientific knowledge, no doubt, can be safely mentioned as potent factors of change in the matter of religious belief as in the matter of general thinking. Ignorance breeds prejudice and distrust. So with the years people are naturally expected to have more toleration and more of sympathetic understanding. It is unfortunate, therefore, that Christianity has almost been passed over in silence; in the forces of Catholicism as it stands today and in such a group as the Oxford thinkers, the student of religion may easily observe interesting tendencies at work.

But Dr. Braden has confined his attention solely to some of the great religions of the world and he has seen them geographically. Hinduism comes up first; and he finds here "promise of almost unlimited change in the religious and social life of India." Such a conclusion it is not difficult to arrive at ; but there are errors in detail which should not have influenced it. For example, the writer notes remarkable changes in social usage, specially with reference to women, "in matters relating to early marriage, divorce, purdah," etc. (p. 26). But divorce is still nooked as a theoretical proposition only (as he admits on p. 65), and may not be uttered in the same breath with early marriage. On p. 37, the author describes the Brahmo Samaj movement to have been largely influenced by Christian ideas ; the influence was strong only over *one* of the groups into which it subsequently split up. Again, India is practically a continent; it is difficult to generalise; and a Bengali or an Assamese may safely ignore the observations on *Outcastes and Devadasis*, because the evils complained of practically do not exist in their provinces. Specially the movement known by the name of "Self-Respect ;" the demarcation between the Brahmins and the non-Brahmins is not strong enough for such an agitation. More important, however, is the statement made in connection with the increasing emphasis on social service: "the predominant ideal of Hinduism has been that of seeking individual release from the round of rebirths." This is a popular fallacy; Hinduism has never advocated Sannyasa for all, the adequate performance of one's social obligations was considered to be obligatory, except for the very few who were *called*, if one may so describe it. Karmayoga has been one of the accepted avenues to the release, and, after all, it is difficult if not impossible to point out any system where national or racial salvation was the *predominant* aim of individuals. Dr. Braden is not a solitary upholder of this impossible view; there are many who join their voices with his, but I am afraid the basis for such a view is too slender even to merit a discussion.

It is not necessary to give here a detailed criticism of the chapters that follow, because the changes noted in India are seen at work in the other countries dealt with by the author. The author's apprehension of a Sun Yat Sen cult seems however to be altogether groundless, the modern age and the absence of any individual or group to advocate it being factors that counteract the tendency for hero-worship noted by the author. In our opinion it would have been a better plan to give the general trend at first and then to illustrate it with reference to the different countries. It would have reduced the size of the book, but the content would have been more compact.

May we suggest that in the appendix on supplementary reading on Chapter II we missed Aurobindo's *Essays on the Gita*, Rolland's *Ramkrishna* and a " critical " study on Hinduism published from America entitled ***Hinduism invades America*** ?

PRIYARANJAN SEN.

Ourselves

[I. Our Vice-Chancellor at Nagpur University.—II. Dr. S. C. Bagchi's Library.—III. The University of Melbourne and Ourselves.—IV. Training in Exploration and Archaeological Work.—V. International Debate in the University.—VI. Lectures on Agricultural Research.—VII. Album on Geodesy of the Alps.—VIII. Results of University Examinations.—IX. Centres for University Examinations, 1937.—X. Narsingh Prasad Hari Prasad Buch Metaphysics Prize for the year 1936-37.]

I. OUR VICE-CHANCELLOR AT NAGPUR UNIVERSITY.

Our Vice-Chancellor, Mr. S. P. Mookerjee, is away to Nagpur to address the University Convocation. The Address, which will be read with interest, is reproduced as a leading article in this number of the *REVIEW.*

* * *

II. DR. S. C. BAGCHI'S LIBRARY.

We understand that Dr. S. C. Bagchi, B.A., LL.B., LL.D., Barrister-at-Law, Principal, University Law College, has offered to make over his library to this University. Those who know Dr. Bagchi and are informed of his life's work as a scholar will vouch for the value of the excellent collection which comprises rare books not only on Law but on a variety of subjects which an enlightened mind like his could hardly ever ignore. The collection on English literature and Mathematics alone, not to speak of other subjects, will do credit to any University Library in this country or elsewhere. The offer, if accepted by the University, will go a great way to further the cause of higher studies in this province, for which the thanks of a grateful community, the community of learners and researchers, will in no small measure be due to Dr. Bagchi.

* * *

III. THE UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE AND OURSELVES.

The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Melbourne has recently addressed this University on the question of Indian teachers and graduates proceeding to Australian Universities for purposes of research and study. Before taking any decision it will no doubt be desirable for this University to consider the general question of the value of degrees and diplomas of Australian Universities and also how far these degrees and diplomas might be recognised as equivalent to corresponding qualifications of the Universities in India. There is also the question of professional registration in India of degrees and diplomas in the Faculty of Medicine of the Australian Universities. We think the matter will have to be referred to the Inter-University Board and the Indian Medical Council for opinion. Meanwhile, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Melbourne, has, we understand, been informed that this University will be glad to co-operate in any scheme for the exchange of Professors, that they are prepared to send out teachers to Australia to deliver lectures in different branches of Science and in Indian History and Culture, Philosophy or Oriental languages and that the authorities of this University desire to know the subjects on which Professors of Australian Universities might be prepared to deliver lectures in Calcutta.

* * *

IV. TRAINING IN EXPLORATION AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL WORK.

We are glad to announce that arrangements have been made with the Government of India for one student from this University to receive training in Exploration and Archaeological work this year. Mr. Kunjagobinda Goswami, M.A., Post-Graduate Research Fellow, has been nominated for the purpose. He is to receive his training under Mr. N. G. Majumder, M.A., Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, who will be working on certain sites in Eastern India.

* * *

V. INTERNATIONAL DEBATE IN THE UNIVERSITY.

This University has been addressed by Mr. Botzer, a member of the Second Foreign Speaking Tour sponsored by the University of Washington, on the subject of an international debate in this University, which they like to visit *en route*. These tours, as Mr. Botzer points out, are made in the interest of advancing international understanding and goodwill by providing for an interchange of ideas on current problems of mutual interest. The present tour was originally intended to be a tour of the Pacific areas only, but a world tour is now contemplated. Mr. Rotzer has been informed that this University will welcome the visit and arrange for a debate. He has also been requested to communicate the exact date of their arrival here as early as possible.

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VI. LECTURES ON AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH.

Sir E. John Russel, KT., O.B.E., D.SC., F.R.S., Director of the Rothamsted Experimental Station, Harpenden, and of the Imperial Bureau of Soil Science, will, we understand, be invited to visit this University and deliver a lecture to our teachers and students when he will be passing through Calcutta in January 1937.

We further understand Dr. N. C. Wright, who is touring with Sir John Russel, will also be invited to deliver a lecture at this University.

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VII. ALBUM ON GEODESY OF THE ALPS.

We are glad to announce that the Consul-General of France has, at the request of M. Andre Honnorat, Senator, ex-Minister and President of the Cite Universitaire, Paris, forwarded to this University an album on the geodesy of the Alps. The present has been thankfully accepted and the magnificent panorama contained in the album will be framed and hung in a conspicuous place in this University.

* * *

VIII. RESULTS OF UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS.

D. P. H. Examination, Part II, September, 1936.

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 20, of whom 17 passed and 3 failed.

Diploma in Spoken English, September, 1936.

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 3, all of whom appeared and passed in the Second Class.

* * *

IX. CENTRES FOR UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS, 1937.

Centres have been opened or renewed for the Matriculation Examination, 1937, at the following places:

New Centres opened.	*Centres renewed for one year.*
Bangaon.	Jhenida.
Maulvibazar (Sylhet).	Kandi.
	Narail.
	Tejpur.

The centres at Contai, Bagerhat and Karatia have been renewed for one year for holding the I.A. and I.Sc. Examinations in 1937.

The centre at Bagerhat has been renewed for one year for holding the B.A. Examination in 1937.

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X. NARSINGH PRASAD HARI PRASAD BUCH METAPHYSICS PRIZE FOR THE YEAR 1936-37.

We have been requested to publish the following Notice of the Benares University:—

"The Narsingh Prasad Hari Prasad Buch Metaphysics Prize of the value of Rs. 200 will be awarded to an Indian who writes the best thesis in English or Hindi on " The Problem of Sense-knowledge in Indian Philosophy." The essay must bear a suitable motto and must be sent to the Registrar in a sealed and registered cover on or before the 31st of January, 1937, with a declaration that it is *bonafide* the competitor's own composition, and also an affidavit countersigned by a local Judicial Officer or by the Principal of the college with which the competitor has been connected in the past to the effect that he is a strict teetotaler and vegetarian. No part of the essay should contain the name of the competitor.

The prize shall not be awarded unless the judges pronounce an essay worthy of it.

Benares,
The 23rd September, 1936.

G. P. Mehta, M.A.
Registrar."

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Latest Publications

Early History of the Vaishnava Sect (*Second Edition*), by Prof. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 236 + xvi.

Pragaitihasik Mahenjodaro, by Mr. Kunjagobinda Goswami, M.A. (*illustrated*). Demy 8vo pp. 164 + xviii. Rs. 2-8.

Rural Self-Government in Bengal, by Dr. Nareschandra Ray, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo pp. 202 + xii. Rs. 2-4.

Rise of the Sikh Power, by Dr. Narendrakrishna Sinha, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 240 + xii. Rs. 4.

University Question Papers, 1930. Demy 8vo pp. 994 + vi.

French Rudiments, by Mr. J. Buffard. D/Crown 8vo pp. 75. Re. 1-4.

Water Supplies in Bengal, by Mr. Nishikanta Ray, B.A. Special size, pp. 180. Re. 1-12.

Books in the Press

DECEMBER, 1936

1. History of the Bengali Novel, by Prof. Srikumar Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D.
2. The Problem of Minorities, by Dr. Dhirendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D.
3. Towards a Systematic Study of the Vedanta, by Dr. Sarojkumar Das, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
4. The Evolution of Indian Industry, by Dr. Rohinimohan Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D.
5. Decline of the Saljuquid Empire, by Dr. Sonaulla, M.A., Ph.D.
6. Art and Archaeology Abroad, by Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A., D.Litt.
7. Paniniya Siksha, by Mr. Manomohan Ghosh, M.A.
8. General Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts, edited by Mr. Manindramohan Bose, M.A.
9. Patua Sangit, edited by G. S. Dutt, Esq., I.C.S.
10. Pramanachandrika—English translation, by Dr. S. K. Maitra, M.A., Ph.D.
11. Studies in Tantras, by Dr. P. C. Bagchi, M.A., D.Lit.
12. Krishi-Bijnan, Vols. I and II, by the late Rai Rajeswar Dasgupta, Bahadur.
13. Progressism (*Readership Lectures*), by Prof. E. L. Schaub.
14. Prasthanabheda, by Madhusudan Saraswati, edited by Mahamahopadhyay Gurucharan Tarka-Darshana-tirtha.
15. Vyaptipanchaka, by Pt. Anantakumar Tarkatirtha.
16. A Critical Study of the Life and Novels of Bankimchandra, by Dr. J. K. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D.
17. Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXIX.
18. Nyayamanjari, edited by Pandit Panchanan Tarkabagis.
19. Brahman Roman Catholic Sambad, edited by Prof. Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. (Oxon.).
20. Calendar, Part II, for 1934.
21. University Questions for the year 1931.

22. Khandakhadyaka, Sanskrit Text, edited by Mr. Prábodhchandra Sengupta, M.A.

23. Lectures on Girishchandra, by Mr. Hemendranath Dasgupta, M.A., B.L.

24. Evolution of the Khalsa, by Mr. Indubhushan Banerjee, M.A.

25. A Critical Survey of Supernaturalism in English Romantic Poetry, by Dr. Sukumar Dutt, M.A., Ph.D.

26. Foundations of Living Faith (*Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lectures*), by Prof. Haridas Bhattacharyya, M.A.

27. Old Persian Inscriptions, by Mr. Sukumar Sen, M.A.

28. Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, by Dr. Binaychandra Sen, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).

29. Present-day Banking in India, by Dr. Ramchandra Rau, M.A., Ph.D.

30. Rabirasmi (in Bengali), by Mr. Charu Bandyopadhyay, M.A.

31. Industry in India, by Dr. P. N. Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc. (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law.

32. Some Published Papers, by Sir U. N. Brahmachari, Kt., M.A., M.D., Ph.D., F.A.S.B.

33. Dina Chandidas, Part II, by Mr. Manindramohan Bose, M.A.

34. Rabindra Kábya-prabáha, by Mr. Pramathanath Bisi, M.A.

35. The Changing Face of Bengal, by Prof. Radhakamal Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D.

36. Cultural Relation between India and Java, by Dr. A. J. Barnet Kempers.

37. The Aryan Trail in Iran and India, by Mr. Nagendranath Ghosh, M.A., B.L.

38. University Calendar, Part I, 1937.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

IX. LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

2. BENGALI

Bangla Bhasha-Tattwer Bhumika, by Prof. S. K. Chatterji, M.A., D.Lit. (Second edition revised). D/C. 16mo pp. 184+16. 1933. Rs. 2-0.

Third Edition. Revised and Enlarged (*in the Press*).

Two Papers, in Bengali, on the fundamentals of Bengali linguistic and racial history and on some principles of Bengali linguistics.

History of Bengali Language, by Bijaychandra Mazumdar, B.L., Lecturer in Anthropology, Comparative Philology and Indian Vernaculars in the University of Calcutta. *Second Edition.* 1927. Demy 8vo pp. 323. Rs. 7-0.

The book gives a sketch, in broad outline, of the origin of the Bengali Language and the various influences—linguistic, ethnic, social—that shaped and moulded its earlier history.

In reviewing this book in the J.R.A.S. (1923, p. 443) *Dr. L. D. Barnett* writes :—" Mr. Mazumdar's work on account of its learning, vigorous style, and bold deviation from currently accepted doctrines deserves a fuller notice than can be accorded to it here. Opening with a stout denial of Sir G. Grierson's theory of the origin of Aryan vernaculars he maintains their derivation from the Vedic Language, and explains their variations as due to the influence of Non-Aryan speech, mainly Dravidian, in particular. Bengali, Oriya and Assamese are in his opinion all primarily evolved from one and the same Eastern Magadhi Prakrit and the first two have been influenced in a secondary degree by Dravidian Speech. To us the most attractive Chapters are II—IV on the names Vanga and Bangla, the geography of ancient Bangla, with the connected regions Gauda, Radha, and Vanga......... VI on Bengali phonology and VIII—IX, a fine study of accent in Sanskrit and Bengali and of the Bengali metrical system, which is of especial value as the author himself has won high distinction as a poet in his native language. On the whole it may be said that the book is most stimulating and suggestive, and that it presents a remarkable mass of interesting facts relating to modern Bengali."

History of Bengali Language and Literature (in English), by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt. Demy 8vo pp. 1067. 1911. *Slightly worm-eaten.* Reduced price. Rs. 11-8.

A comprehensive view of the development of the Bengali Language and Literature from the earliest times down to 1850. This book has very little affinity with the author's epoch-making Bengali work on the same subject, the arrangement adopted in the present work being altogether new and the latest facts, not anticipated in the Bengali treatise, having been incorporated in it. It has been accepted by orientalists everywhere as the most complete and authoritative work on the subject. The book is illustrated by many pictures including five coloured ones.

Sylvain Lévi (*Paris*): "I cannot give you praises enough—your work is a *Chintamani*—a *Ratnakara*. No book about India would I compare with yours......Never did I find such a realistic sense of literature......Pandit and Peasant, Yogi and Raja mix together in a Shakespearean way on the stage you have built up."

D. C. Phillott: "I can well understand the enthusiasm with which the work was received by scholars, for even to men unacquainted with your language, it cannot fail to be a source of great interest and profit."

Jules Bloch (*Paris*): "Your book I find an admirable one and which is the only one of its kind in the whole of India."

The Times Literary Supplement, London, June 20, 1912: "In his narration, as becomes one who is the soul of scholarly candour, he tells those who can read him with sympathy and imagination more about the Hindu mind and its attitude towards life than we can gather from 50 volumes of impressions of travel by Europeans. Loti's picturesque account of the rites practised in Travancore temples, and even M. Chevrillon's synthesis of much browsing in Hindu Scriptures, seem faint records by the side of this unassuming tale of Hindu literature. Mr. Sen may well be proud of the lasting monument he has erected to the literature of his native Bengal."

The Spectator, June 12, 1912: "A book of extraordinary interest to those who would make an impartial study of the Bengali mentality and character—a work which reflects the utmost credit on the candour, industry and learning of its author. In its kind his book is a masterpiece—modest, learned, thorough and sympathetic. Perhaps no other man living has the learning and happy industry for the task he has successfully accomplished."

From a long review by *H. Kern* in the *Bijdragen of the Royal Institute for Taal* (translated by Dr. Kern himself): "Fruit of investigation carried through many years......highly interesting book......the reviewer has all to admire in the pages of the work, nothing to criticise, for his whole knowledge is derived from it."

The Empire, August 31, 1918: "As a book of reference Mr. Sen's work will be found invaluable and he is to be congratulated on the result of his labours. It may well be said that he has proved what an English enthusiast once said that 'Bengali unites the mellifluousness of Italian with the power possessed by German for rendering complex ideas.'"

Western Influence in Bengali Literature,, by Priyaranjan Sen, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 417. Rs. 5-0.

Contents:—Bengali Literature before Western Influence—Historical Background—Channels of the New Influence—Bengali's Favourite Authors—Influence in Verse Forms—Influence on Bengali Drama—Influence in Prose Forms—Influence on the Matter and Spirit of Literature—Conclusion.

" The author has chosen for his thesis a subject which for a long time has been waiting for adequate exploration by scholars. His work throws much light on the early stages of development of our literature and presents in a lucid manner a connected account of the formative influences that have helped in its self-expression...I hope that the author will follow up his present work and deal with his subject in fuller detail. He is eminently fitted for this task because of his erudition and his gift of clear, and systematic exposition."—*Rabindranath Tagore, in the Calcutta Review*, Jan., 1933.

" The book is a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of the history of Bengali Literature and a mine of precious information. When going through it I have found so many interesting quotations and discussions that I am very glad I am in possession of the work. It will be of great use to me when I shall publish a new edition of my History of Indian Literature (in German)."—*Dr. H. V. Glasenapp*, Professor of Indology, Koenigsberg University, Germany.

" The work is, in my opinion, remarkably interesting and instructive."
—*L. D. Barnett*, School of Oriental Studies, London.

" Even to those who have no expert knowledge of the subject the work is of the greatest interest and reflects much credit on the research and critical acumen of the author. His moderation of expression and sanity of judgment deserve special recognition and the book is well worthy of the honour of being included in the ever lengthening list of important studies issued by the University of Calcutta."—*Prof. A. Berriedale Keith*, University of Edinburgh.

" Mr. Sen's book is not exactly in my line, but I have been very pleased by going through it. The author has dealt with the problem in a critical manner and has followed a right historical method throughout. The book is a very interesting and instructive one and there is not the least doubt that it will rank very high among the few existing works on the critical study of Bengali literature."—*Prof. R. C. Mazumdar, M.A., Ph.D.*, Professor and Head of the Dept. of History, Dacca University.

" Mr. Sen has sought to carry out this study in respect of one particular Indian province and its literature. As he himself points out, this study is not only of general interest for the students of Modern Bengali life, but also has a special interest for those who study the cultural exchange between one nation and another. There is no doubt that Mr. Sen is eminently fitted for the task. With a first-hand knowledge of English as well as Bengali language and literature, he is able to compare Bengali literature as it is now with what it was before the advent of the English and to estimate how far any changes noticeable can be attributed to this influence....................Mr. Sen has succeeded in producing an eminently readable book, comprehensive rather than elaborate. With the general nature of his findings it is impossible to disagree, and the more so as he refrains, and perhaps from the nature of the case must refrain, from any definite judgments about the respective influences of various factors...............Mr. Sen has spared no pains and succeeded in producing a book which is both interesting and instructive."—*The Hindu, Jan.* 9, 1933.

" The best thing about Mr. Priyaranjan Sen's study is that with robust common sense he recognizes that Western influence has done immense good and exceeding little harm, and that Bengal can without fear continue to accept with both hands whatever other lands have to offer. A literature and a mind as vigorous as those of this people can make whatever it takes into its

own. It would be easy, as always, to suggest a little more fullness here.......
......The poets and novelists of our own time are not altogether neglected.......
Mr. Sen's work is pioneer work and has been well done."—*The Times Literary Supplement*, March 29, 1934.

Bengali Ramayanas, by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt. Demy 8vo pp. 335. Rs. 7-8.

In this book the author advances certain theories regarding the basic materials upon which the Epic of Valmiki was built and the ideals presented therein as also the sources of the Bengali Ramayanas and the principles contained in them.

The Times Literary Supplement, April 7, 1921—" The Indian Epics deserve closer study than they have hitherto received at the hands of the average Englishmen of culture. Apart from the interest of the main themes, the wealth of imagery and the beauty of many of the episodes, they are store-houses of information upon the ancient life of India and a key to the origin of customs which still live. Moreover they show many curious affinities to Greek literature which suggest the existence of legends common to both countries......

The main theme of these lectures is the transformation of the old majestic Sanskrit epic as it came from the hands of Valmiki to the more familiar and homely style of the modern Bengali versions. The **Ramayana,** we are told, is a protest against Buddhist monasticism, the glorification of the domestic home. The Bengali versions, by reducing the grandeur of the heroic characters, to the level of ordinary mortals, bring the epic within the reach of the humblest peasant; they have their own virtues, just as the simple narrative of the Gospels has its own charm, though it be different in kind from that of Isaiah's majestic cadences."

From a review in the *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* by *Sir George Grierson*: " This is the most valuable contribution to the literature on the Ramasaga which has appeared since Professor Jacobi's work on the Ramayana was published in 1893. The latter was confined to Valmiki's famous epic, and the present volume, from the pen of the veteran author of the *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, carries the inquiry on to a further stage and throws light both on the origins of the story and on its later developments."

The Vaishnava Literature of Mediæval Bengal, by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt. Demy 12mo pp. 312. 1917. Re. 1-6.

The book contains a connected history of the influence of Vaishnava Literature of the Mediæval Age on the development of Bengali Language, with concluding chapters on the relation between the Buddhistic and Vaishnava creeds and similarity between Vaishnavism and Christianity. It clearly shows how religion once played a great part in the building up of our national literature.

William Rothenstein: " I was delighted with your book. I cannot tell you how touched I am to be reminded of that side of your beloved country which appeals to me most—a side of which I was able to perceive something during my own too short visit to India. In the faces of the best of your countrymen I was able to see that spirit of which you write so charmingly in your book......So once more I send you my thanks for the magic carpet you sent me, upon which my soul can return to your dear land. May the songs of which you write remain to fill this land with their fragrance; you will have use of them, in the years before you, as we have need of all that is best in the songs of our own seers in the dark waters through which we are steering."

From a long review in the *Times Literary Supplement*, 26th April, 1918:—"It is an authentic record of the religious emotion and thought of that wonderful land of Bengal which few of its Western rulers, we suspect, have rightly comprehended, not from lack of friendly sympathy but simply from want of precisely what Mr. Sen better than any one living, better than Sir Rabindranath Tagore himself, can supply."

J. L. Anderson, Esq., Professor, Cambridge University: "I have read more than half of it. I propose to send with it, if circumstances leave me the courage to write it, a short Preface (which I hope you will read with pleasure even if you do not think it worth publication) explaining why, in the judgment of a very old student of all your works, your book should be read not only in Calcutta, but in London, and Paris, and Oxford and Cambridge. I have read it and am reading it with great delight and profit and very real sympathy."

* **Vaishnava Padabali,** by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt., and Rai Bahadur Khagendranath Mitra, M.A. Royal 8vo pp. 170. Rs. 2-4.

* **Jataka Manjari,** by Rai Saheb Isan Ch. Ghosh, M.A. Royal 8vo pp. 340. Rs. 2-8.

Chaitanya and His Age (*Ramtanu Lahiri Research Fellowship Lectures for* 1919 *and* 1921), by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt., with a Foreword by Prof. Sylvain Lévi. Demy 8vo pp. 453. 1922. Rs. 6.

The book gives a complete and consistent history of Chaitanya, his religious views, and of the sects that follows his religion, with an account of the condition of Bengal before the advent of the great subject of the memoirs. Everything dealt with in the book is based on old authority.

Chaitanya and His Companions, by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt. Demy 8vo pp. 341. Rs. 2-0.

The book presents short life-sketches of Sri Chaitanya and his Bhaktas with a general history of the Vaishnava doctrine and a comparative study of mysticism (occidental and oriental).

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* Text-book.

Vanga-Sahitya-Parichaya or Typical Selections from Old Bengali Literature, Edited by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt. In two parts. Royal 8vo pp. 2087. 1914. Rs. 16-12.

These volumes contain specimen writings of known or unknown Bengali authors from the ancient times down to the middle of the eighteenth century, thus showing the development of the Bengali style and Bengali language. The meanings of old and difficult words and phrases have been fully given on each page in foot-notes. Several beautiful coloured pictures illustrate the Volumes.

Sir George Grierson : " Invaluable work.........That I have yet read through its 1900 pages I do not pretend, but what I have read has filled me with admiration for the industry and learning displayed. It is a worthy sequel to your monumental History of Bengali Literature, and of it we may safely say, '*finis coronat opus.*' How I wish that a similar work could be compiled for other Indian languages, specially for Hindi."

Folk Literature of Bengal, by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt. Demy 8vo pp. 404. Rs. 4-4.

In this book the author traces the sources of Folktales and through the mirror of some of these tales shows the ancient customs and thoughts of the people of Bengal—the materials of hidden historical knowledge which may go a great way towards the reconstruction of a history of this province.

Eastern Bengal Ballads—Mymensingh, Vol. I, Part I, by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt. Royal 8vo. In two parts, complete in 900 pages. 1926. Rs. 7-8.

This volume contains an English rendering of the original Bengali ballads with an introduction by the compiler in Part I and the Bengali text in Part II. There are eleven pen-and-ink sketches attached to the work and a literary map indicating the position of the villages connected with the incidents of the ballads has been appended to Part I. The excellence of these ballads which reveal altogether a new find of supreme interest in the field of old Bengali literature has been attested to by European critics and Lord Ronaldshay says in the Foreword written by him that " these ballads should prove a mine of wealth alike to the philologist and the historian and last, but not least, to the administrator who seeks to penetrate the inner thought and feeling of the people."

Do. Vol. II, Part I (*Edited with Introduction and Notes*), by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt. (with 21 illustrations). Royal 8vo pp. 546. 1926. Rs. 7-8.

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Do. Vol. IV, Part I, by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt. Royal 8vo pp. 446+xii. 1932. Rs. 6.

Eastern Bengal Ballads (Maymansingha Gitika), Vol. I, Part II. Royal 8vo pp. 376. 1923. Rs. 5-0.

Purva-Banga Gitika, Vol. II, Part II (*Edited with Introduction and Notes*), by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt. (with 21 illustrations). Royal 8vo pp. 585. 1926. Rs. 5.

Purva-Banga Gitika, Vol. III, Part II (*Edited with Introduction and Notes*), by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt. (with one tri-colour and 23 one-colour illustrations). Royal 8vo pp. 577. 1930. Rs. 5-0.

Purva-Banga Gitika, Vol. IV, Part II (*Edited with Introduction and Notes*), by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt. Royal 8vo pp. 548. 1932. Rs. 5-0.

Satya Pirer Katha, edited by Nagendranath Gupta. Demy 8vo pp. 73. 1930. As. 8.

Kavikankan Chandi, Part I, Edited by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, Charuchandra Banerjee and Hrishikesh Basu. Royal 8vo pp. 350. 1924. Rs. 6.

In the preface of the book there is an interesting account o the original manuscripts of the Chandikavya preserved in th temple of Singhabahini attached to the house of the poet at Damunya. The present edition which is based on a copy of the original manuscripts brings the poem up to the story of Kalaketu.

Kavikankan Chandi, Part II, Edited by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, Charuchandra Banerjee and Hrishikesh Basu. Royal 8vo pp. 685. 1926. Rs. 6.

Chandimangala-bodhini or Notes on Kavikankan-Chandi, Part I, by Charuchandra Banerjee. Royal 8vo pp. 672. 1925. Rs. 6.

Do. Part II, by the same author. Royal 8vo pp. 425. Rs. 4-8.

Kavikankan-Chandi is one of the most important books of the Middle Bengali Literature for many reasons: it may be considered to be an historical document about the social, religious, political, economical, commercial and ethnological conditions of the 16th century Bengal. In the two volumes of the Bodhini or the Commentary, Mr. Charuchandra Banerjee, who is also one of the joint-editors of the text of Kavikankan-Chandi, has given a very elaborate commentary on the text, with philological notes, and has traced the history of the principal gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon from the very earliest times up to the present times, the social history of the times, the political and other conditions of the then Bengal as may be gleaned from the book. For these reasons these two volumes have become an indispensable guide in the field of Old and Middle Bengali researches and in editing any other book of those periods.

Govindadas's Karcha (*Edited with elaborate Introduction and Notes*), by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt. Royal 8vo pp. 103. 1926. Re. 1-8.

Gopichandra, Part I, Edited by Bisweswar Bhattacharyya, B.A., Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt., and Basantaranjan Ray, Vidvatballabh. Royal 8vo pp. 311. 1922. Rs. 4-8.

Do. Part II. Royal 8vo pp. 434. 1924. Rs. 6.

It is a recension of the story of Raja Gopichandra, one of the greatest pre-Moslem legends of Bengal, as taken down from oral recitation in Northern Bengal. The text has been supplemented by different other recensions from Bengal, as printed by other scholars.

Sahajiya Sahitya, by Manindramohan Basu, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 206. 1933. Rs. 2.

শতাধিক সহজিয়া পদ এবং বৈষ্ণব সহজিয়া সম্প্রদায়ের তিনখানা আদিগ্রন্থের বিবরণ সহ সঙ্কলিত। সর্ব্বত্রই প্রয়োজনীয় টীকা সন্নিবিষ্ট হইয়াছে। বৈষ্ণব সহজিয়া ধর্ম্ম সম্বন্ধে প্রকৃত জ্ঞান লাভ করিবার পক্ষে এই গ্রন্থ অতীব মূল্যবান্, ইহাতে সন্দেহ নাই।

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Dina Chandidaser Padabali, Part I *(in Bengali)*, by Manindramohan Bose, M.A. D/C 8vo pp. 386. 1935. Rs. 5.

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10. *The Pravāsī*, Srāvaṇa, 1432 B.S.—

"আলোচ্যগ্রন্থে শ্রীমণীন্দ্রমোহন বসু মহাশয় চণ্ডীদাস-সমস্যার মীমাংসাকল্পে অনেক প্রয়োজনীয় মাল মশলা উপস্থিত করিয়াছেন। এবং সেই সঙ্গে প্রায় পঞ্চাশ পৃষ্ঠাব্যাপী পাণ্ডিত্যপূর্ণ ভূমিকায় এই প্রসঙ্গে তাঁহার দীর্ঘকালের গবেষণার ফল লিপিবদ্ধ করিয়াছেন। এই হেতু তিনি পণ্ডিতমণ্ডলীর আন্তরিক ধন্যবাদের পাত্র। সকল সিদ্ধান্তই মণীন্দ্রবাবু যথাযোগ্য যুক্তিতর্ক সহকারে প্রমাণ করিবার চেষ্টা করিয়াছেন, এবং আমাদের মনে হয় যে, নিরপেক্ষ সমালোচক মাত্রই তাঁহার সিদ্ধান্তনিচয় সম্বন্ধে অনুকূল ভাব পোষণ করিবেন। এ কথা নিঃসন্দেহে বলা যায় যে, তিনি এই প্রসঙ্গে বৈজ্ঞানিক প্রণালীতে চলিতে চেষ্টা করিয়াছেন, এবং নিপুণতার সহিত সেই পদ্ধতির অনুসরণ করিয়াছেন।"

11. *Anandabazar Patrika*, dated 31st July, 1935—

"এখন আমরা বুঝিতে পারিতেছি যে চণ্ডীদাস নামে দুইজন কবি রাধাকৃষ্ণের লীলাবিষয়ক পদ রচনা করিয়া গিয়াছেন। একজন বড়ু চণ্ডীদাস, তিনি চৈতন্যপূর্ব্ববর্ত্তীযুগে আবির্ভূত হইয়া শ্রীকৃষ্ণকীর্ত্তন রচনা করিয়াছিলেন, অন্যজন দীন চণ্ডীদাস, ইনি চৈতন্য পরবর্ত্তীযুগের কবি। শুদ্ধ বৃন্দাবনলীলা বিষয়ক চণ্ডীদাসের নামে প্রচলিত যাবতীয় পদাবলী যে দীন চণ্ডীদাস রচনা করিয়াছেন ইহার নিদর্শন তাঁহার বৃহৎ কাব্যগ্রন্থে বর্ত্তমান রহিয়াছে। মণীন্দ্রবাবু ইহ প্রদর্শন করিয়া সাহিত্যসেবী মাত্রেরই ধন্যবাদভাজন হইয়াছেন।"

12. From the *Advance*, dated 21st July, 1935—

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Early Bengali Prose, by S. R. Mitra. Demy 8vo pp. 184. 1922. Rs. 3.

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Bengali Literature in the Nineteenth Century (*Premchand Roychand Studentship thesis,* 1917), by S. K. De, M.A., D.Lit. Demy 8vo pp. 530. 1919. Rs. 8-6.

It is a historical review of the course of Bengali literature from its decadence after Bharatchandra's death to its rejuvenation under the British influence with a background of social and political history. The materials have been collected from sources hitherto inaccessible to many.

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The Origin of Bengali Script (*Jubilee Research Prize,* 1913) by Rakhaldas Banerjee, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 122. 1919. Rs. 3.

The book gives a history of the development of the Bengali alphabet. It is a valuable contribution to Indian Palæography.

Glimpses of Bengal Life, by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt. Demy 8vo pp. 321. Rs. 4.

The work embodies the lectures delivered by the author in 1915 as Ramtanu Lahiri Research Fellow of the Calcutta University. The work throws light on many points connected with the social, political and religious history of Bengal. The last chapter contains *Stray Notes on Some Bengali Ballads,* the Minachetan *or the Song of Gorakshanath, On Chandidas, Chaitanya's Desertion of Nadiya, and Humour in Old Bengali Poetry.*

Harilila, edited by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt., and Basantaranjan Ray, Vidvatvallabh. Demy 8vo pp. 186. 1928. Re. 1-14.

An eighteenth century Bengali poem on a familiar religious legend by Lala Jaynarayan Sen. For the first time edited out of original MSS., with an annotated glossary of obsolete words.

Panini, by Rajanikanta Gupta. Demy 8vo pp. 134, 1928. Re. 1-8.

Reprint of a critical work (in Bengali) on the Sanskrit Grammarian Panini by a distinguished Bengali writer and scholar of the preceding generation. The work was first published in 1875. The author accepts Goldstücker's view as to the date of Panini.

Bani Mandir, by Sasankamohan Sen, B.L. Demy 8vo pp. 832. 1928. Rs. 6.

This is a comprehensive work in Bengali on literary criticism. The author was a lecturer in Bengali at the University of Calcutta, and he was quite distinguished as a literary critic and professor of literature. The work is the first of its kind in Bengali, and is a very suggestive treatise on comparative literature, embracing in its sweep the ancient Indian literature, Bengali literature, and ancient and modern European literatures, demonstrating the author's wide range of literary culture and his keen and penetrating critical faculty.

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